

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

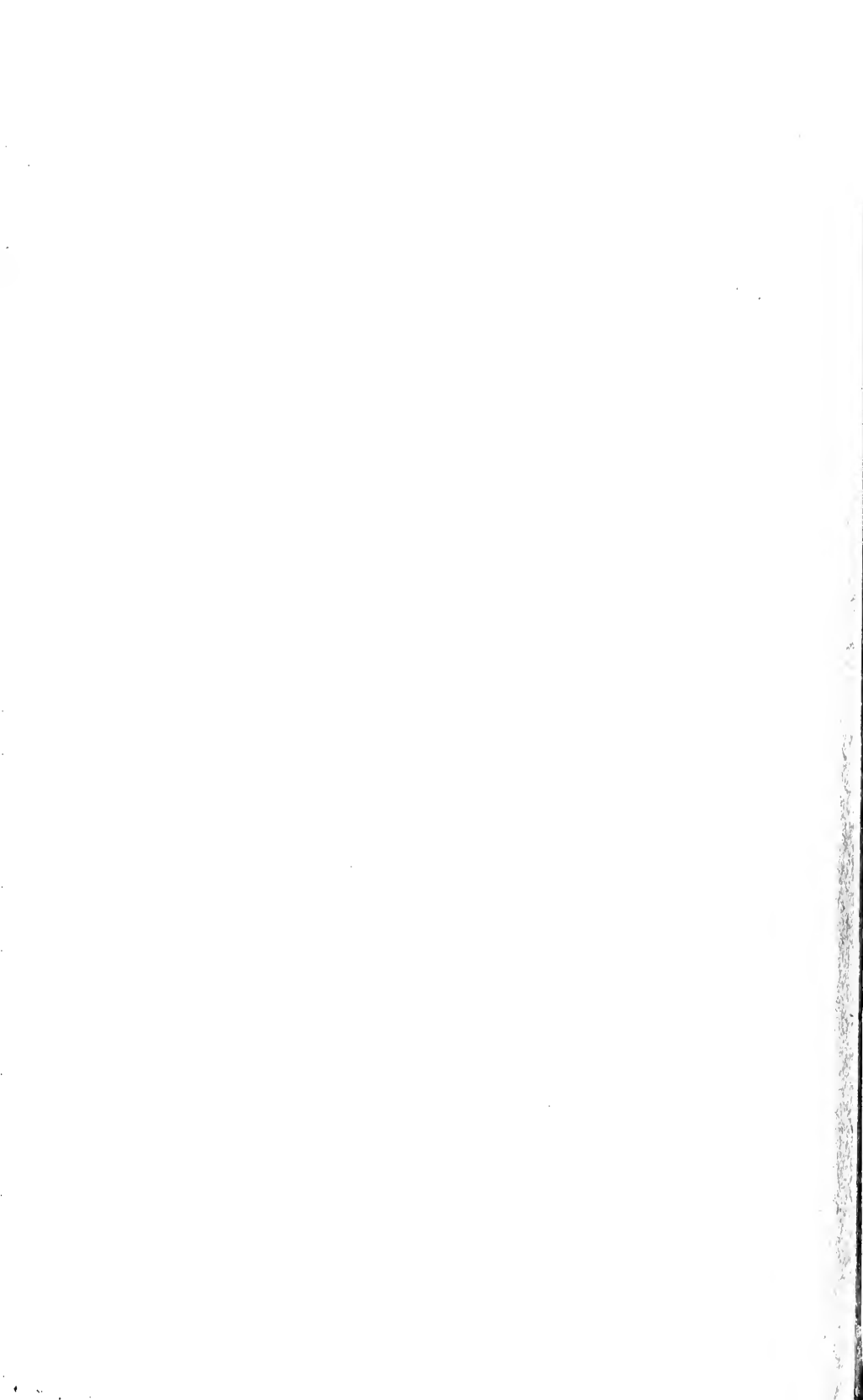
TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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APPENDIX—PART V TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities





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APPENDIX—PART V TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON : 1941

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
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TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

The Transport Workers Union was first organized in New York in 1934. Since then it has become an international union with locals in various parts of the United States, Canada, and Alaska. Its main strength, however, remains in New York. Its total dues-paying membership, according to official claims, is about 90,000. The union is at present affiliated with the C. I. O.

The Transport Workers Union was in the beginning an independent body. In 1935, its leaders sought affiliation with the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, but the latter union suspected Quill, Hogan, and Santo of being Communists and their request for affiliation was rejected. (See Exhibit No. 1.)

Concerning the next effort of the Transport Workers Union to find an affiliation, the bulletin of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees has the following to say:

Next the Transport Workers commissars tried to affiliate with the New York lodge of the International Association of Machinists. Apparently the New York Machinists knew too much about the set-up, for they turned Quill down. (See Exhibit No. 1.)

Later, Quill and his associates were able to obtain a charter for affiliation from the international headquarters of the International Association of Machinists in Washington and thus to enter the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. (See Exhibit No. 2.)

OFFICERS OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Among the principal officials of the Transport Workers Union, almost from the time of its formation, were Michael J. Quill, Austin Hogan, John Santo, and Thomas H. O'Shea. These four made the trip to Detroit in 1935 for the purpose of seeking affiliation with the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees.

THOMAS H. O'SHEA

The first president of the Transport Workers Union was one Thomas H. O'Shea. (See Exhibit No. 3.) In April 1940 O'Shea appeared as a witness before the Special Committee on un-American Activities. He testified that he had been a member of the Communist Party, having joined at the time the Transport Workers Union was being formed. According to O'Shea, he was appointed to the presidency of the union by the Communist Party and was not elected by the

membership of the organization. When Michael J. Quill was a witness before the Special Committee on un-American Activities he testified that O'Shea had been his predecessor in the presidency of the union but that he, Quill, was the first elected president of the organization.

O'Shea testified that he had been asked to step out of the presidency of the union by the Communist Party in order that Quill might be elected in his place. This was partially confirmed by Quill, who declared that he had been unopposed for the office at the time of his election in December 1935.

The new weekly magazine, *Friday*, which made its first appearance on March 15, 1940, leans strongly toward the Communist Party "line." This fact is evidenced by the magazine's announcement (March 22, 1940, p. 22) that two of its cartoonists of whom it is "pretty proud" are Fred Ellis and Bill Gropper. Both Ellis and Gropper have been well known as Communist cartoonists for many years. Their work has appeared regularly in the *Daily Worker*, the *New Masses*, and other party publications. Ruth McKenney, one of the editors of the *New Masses*, contributed a eulogistic article on Michael Quill and the Transport Workers Union in the March 22 issue of *Friday* (see pp. 9-11 of that issue). Among other things, Miss McKenney wrote: "Michael Joseph Quill, first and only president of the Transport Workers Union, etc., etc." The complete refutation of Miss McKenney's characterization of Quill as the "first and only president of the Transport Workers Union" is to be found not only in the fact that O'Shea's name appears as president of the union on the membership books of 1935 (see Exhibit No. 3) but also in the bulletins of the union. In the *Transport Workers Bulletin* (July 1935, p. 1), a picture of O'Shea was published with the following characterization: "Tom O'Shea, fighting president of the T. W. U." (See Exhibit No. 4.)

In the *Daily Worker* for April 24, 1940, officials of the Transport Workers Union in New York are quoted as saying of O'Shea that "the company stooge was defeated when he ran for reelection" (see Exhibit No. 5) as president of the union. Quill himself has since stated under oath that O'Shea did not run for reelection against him in December 1935. Furthermore, it is clear that O'Shea was not repudiated by his union at that time inasmuch as his name appears subsequently as one of the union's business agents in the *Transport Workers Bulletin*. (See Exhibit No. 2.)

In short, the record clearly establishes O'Shea's competence as a witness concerning the Communist control of the Transport Workers Union.

JOHN SANTO

In 1936 John Santo was one of the business agents of the Transport Workers Union. Today he is the secretary-treasurer of the union. It goes without saying that this is one of the key positions in any labor organization.

Santo has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by the following witnesses who have appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities: John J. Murphy (hearings, p. 1044); Edward Maguire (hearings, p. 1069); William Harmon (hearings, p.

1059); Laurence Barron (hearings, p. 1073); Michael J. McCarthy (hearings, p. 1079); and Thomas H. O'Shea (hearings not yet printed). All of these men, with the exception of McCarthy, were formerly members of the Communist Party, and each testified that he had sat in meetings of the party with Santo. McCarthy testified that Santo had solicited him to join the Communist Party.

Santo is linked, by documentary evidence, with the Communist Party. In the *Daily Worker*, May 1, 1934, Santo wrote an article on the newly formed union of transport employees. (See Exhibit No. 6.) Among other things, Santo wrote in the *Daily Worker*:

The building of this new union is of the greatest importance to all other trade unions, as well as to the whole working class. First of all, it is a key industry, without which all other industries would be paralyzed. (See Exhibit No. 6.)

In the *Daily Worker*, June 11, 1934, Santo's name appeared as a member of a protest delegation from the Trade Union Unity Council to the German consulate in New York. The Trade Union Unity Council was a body of local unions under the complete control of the Communist Party. It was a part of the movement known as the Trade Union Unity League, which was, in turn, affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. At the head of the international body of Communist-controlled unions was A. Lozovsky, with headquarters in Moscow. At the head of the Trade Union Unity League was William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. Others with Santo in the delegation of the Trade Union Unity Council which visited the German consulate were Sam Nesin, Communist Party functionary of New York, and Charlotte Todes, also a Communist Party functionary and wife of Bernhard J. Stern, who was a Columbia University professor using the alias Bennett Stevens. (See hearings, p. 4929.) The purpose of the visit of the Trade Union Unity Council delegation to the German consulate was to demand that the German Government free from prison the German Communist leader, Ernst Thaelmann. (See Exhibit No. 7.)

In the 1937 Yearbook of the Ohio Communist Party, the name of John Santo appeared on the honor roll. (See Exhibit No. 8.) According to the testimony of Laurence Barron before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Santo came from Ohio and was a candidate for office in that State in 1932 on the Communist Party ticket. (See hearings, p. 1073.)

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities has in its possession a document entitled "District Two—Control Tasks Adopted at Enlarged District Meeting, March 8, 1936." "District Two" is the designation given by the Communist Party to its New York Division. On page 7 of this document the name of Santo appeared as "District Rep" (meaning district representative) for section 22 of the Communist Party, district 2. (See Exhibit No. 9.)

AUSTIN HOGAN

In 1936 Austin Hogan was general secretary of the Transport Workers Lodge, International Association of Machinists. (See Exhibit No. 2.) Today he is the president of the New York local of the Transport Workers Union, the local which comprises the large part of the entire membership of the union. Hogan's name was originally Gustav Dilloughry.

Hogan has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by John J. Murphy (hearings, p. 1044) and Thomas H. O'Shea (hearings, not yet printed).

In the *Daily Worker* for June 1, 1934, there appeared an article which was subcaptioned "1,000 Workers Bid Irish Communist Leader Adieu." (See Exhibit No. 10.) Among the participants on the program of this farewell meeting for the Irish Communist leader were Earl Browder, James W. Ford, Charles Krumbein, Mike Gold, and Austin Hogan. Browder, Ford, Krumbein, and Gold are among the outstanding Communist leaders in the United States.

MICHAEL JOSEPH QUILL

Michael Quill was elected president of the Transport Workers Union in December 1935 after O'Shea had been instructed by the Communist Party leaders to withdraw in order that Quill might be chosen head of the union without opposition. Quill has remained in the presidency of the union until the present time.

John J. Murphy testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, as follows:

I sat in unit 19-S meetings of the Communist Party with Mr. Michael Quill, and knew him for years before as station agent on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. (hearings, p. 1044).

Edward Maguire's testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities included the following with reference to Michael Quill:

Mr. STARNES. Have you collected dues from all those you have called here?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were they members of your unit?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir; of the unit known as 19-S.

Mr. THOMAS. Then do I understand you collected dues from Michael J. Quill?

Mr. MAGUIRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You say you were secretary-treasurer of that unit?

Mr. MAGUIRE. The unit known as 19-S (hearings, p. 1069).

Michael Kelly testified that Michael Quill asked him to join the Communist Party and to attend the Communist Party's Workers school at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y. (See hearings, p. 1077.)

Michael J. McCarthy also testified that Quill had solicited him for membership in the Communist Party. (See hearings, p. 1079.)

Thomas H. O'Shea likewise testified that he had personally known Michael Quill to be a member of the Communist Party.

According to the official minutes of the annual meeting of the Transport Workers Union, held in October 1937, Quill had the following statement to make concerning his alleged connections with the Communist Party:

Some others say, "I saw him reading the *Daily Worker*. Well, I read English very poorly, and it about the only language I read. The *Daily Worker* is printed in English. If it was printed in Gaelic I would perhaps read it also because it is a working man's paper. (See Exhibit No. 11.)

Another criticism is, "I am sure he is a member of the Communist Party." I want to tell you that since the very day this union was started I have worked with Communists and Socialists and Democrats and people of other nationalities and political beliefs, and they have done an excellent job in building the organization to the stage of where we were able to come to Madison Square Garden as

free transit workers. And the work of all these people has been much more valuable than the sniping of a few narrow-minded critics. (See Exhibit No. 11.)

Michael Quill's connections with various Communist-controlled organizations have been numerous. Elsewhere, the degree of Communist control in these organizations will be discussed with the supporting evidence.

Quill contributed an article to the December 1937 issue of *Champion*. (See Exhibit No. 12.) *Champion* was a publication of the Young Communist League and of the International Workers Order.

At a mass meeting under the sponsorship of the Greater New York Committee for Employment, in May 1938, Quill was one of the speakers. (See Exhibit No. 13.) According to the *Daily Worker's* account of this meeting, the following Communist-controlled organizations were represented: American League for Peace and Democracy, Workers Alliance, National Negro Congress, and Harlem Division of the Communist Party. Exhibit No. 13 is from the *Daily Worker*, May 18, 1938, page 4.

In June 1939 an organization known as the Associated Blind, Inc., held its annual dance in the hall of the Transport Workers Union. (See Exhibit No. 14.) The *Daily Worker* listed Quill among the sponsors of the event, together with such well-known Communists and Communist fellow-travelers as Max Bedacht, Granville Hicks, Donald Ogden Stewart, and Jerome Davis.

In April 1939 Quill was a speaker at a mass meeting of the Manhattan Citizens Committee. (See Exhibit No. 15.) A. Philip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress, and Ben Gold, avowed Communist head of the International Fur Workers Union, were also among the speakers. The American League for Peace and Democracy, the National Negro Congress, and the Jewish People's Committee were listed in the *Daily Worker* as organizations supporting the meeting. Ben Gold and William Weiner, both nationally prominent members of the Communist Party, were president and secretary, respectively, of the Jewish People's Committee (hearings, p. 622).

In December 1938 Quill wrote the International Labor Defense as follows:

Aware of the very necessary and able work done by the International Labor Defense in behalf of organized labor throughout the past and preceding years, I am happy to join with you in your annual Christmas Drive for labor's Neediest Cases. I am urging all in our union and our affiliate organizations in the labor movement, and I am asking all my friends personally to support the Christmas Drive. I feel confident that whatever goal you have set for yourselves will be achieved and that funds collected will go as has always been the case in the I. L. D., to very worthy fighters for the workers of America. (See Exhibit No. 17.)

In December 1938 Quill was a sponsor for a New Year's Eve ball of the Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees. (See Exhibit No. 18.) Associated with him in the sponsorship of the ball were Marc Blitzstein, Millen Brand, Malcolm Cowley, Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Genevieve Taggard, and Richard Wright. These seven persons were also among the signers of publicly released statement "in support of the verdicts of the recent Moscow trials of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite traitors." (See *Daily Worker*, April 28, 1938, p. 4.)

In November 1938 Quill was a speaker at a mass meeting "to protest Nazi atrocities." The meeting was held in Pittsburgh under the auspices of the League for the Protection of Minority Rights and the

American League for Peace and Democracy (See Exhibit No. 19.) Ben Gold was also a speaker at the meeting.

In June 1938 Quill was a speaker at a meeting under the auspices of the American Friends of the Mexican People. The principal speaker of the occasion was V. Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Confederation of Mexican Workers. (See Exhibit No. 20.)

Quill is a sponsor of the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc., together with Max Bedacht, of the International Workers Order, and A. Philip Randolph, of the National Negro Congress. Rose Nelson is a director of the organization. (See Exhibit No. 21.) Miss Nelson is now an official of the International Workers Order and has been a section organizer of the Communist Party. (See Exhibit No. 27.)

The Daily Worker for December 20, 1938, announced that Quill would be a speaker at a meeting under the auspices of the Progressive Women's Council and the American League for Peace and Democracy. (See Exhibit No. 16.) The Jewish People's Committee was also represented by a speaker at the meeting. The Progressive Women's Council, of which Rose Nelson was once the head, has now merged with the International Workers Order. (See Exhibit No. 29)

Quill is a member of the Labor Advisory Committee of Consumers Union of United States, Inc. (See Exhibit No. 22.) Ben Gold and Louis Weinstock, both well-known Communists, are also members of this committee.

The American Labor Party, which Quill once represented on the Council of the City of New York, withdrew its endorsement of Quill on the ground that he refused to follow the policy of the American Labor Party in its stand on the Soviet-Nazi pact. (See Exhibit No. 24.) Exhibit No. 24 is from the New York Times, October 5, 1939.

Quill has been identified with the so-called Communist wing of the American Labor Party. He addressed a mass rally at which Bernhard J. Stern was also a speaker. (See Exhibit No. 23.) Stern uses the alias of Bennett Stevens in his work for the Communist Party, and he is a professor at Columbia University. (See hearings, p. 4929.) The so-called Communist wing of the American Labor Party is known as the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party. Among Quill's associates on this committee are Joseph Curran, Lillian Hellman, Charles Hendley, Rockwell Kent, and Mervyn Rathborne. (See Exhibit No. 25.)

THE LADIES AUXILIARY

The Ladies Auxiliary of the Transport Workers Union is affiliated with the League of Women Shoppers. (See Exhibit No. 26.) In records which the Special Committee on Un-American Activities obtained at the headquarters of the Communist Party in Philadelphia, the League of Women Shoppers was designated as a party organization.

The Ladies Auxiliary of the Transport Workers Union was also affiliated with the Progressive Women's Council prior to the time the latter organization was merged with the International Workers Order. (See Exhibit No. 26.) Exhibit No. 26 is from the Transport Workers Bulletin, March 1938, page 13. Rose Nelson, who was secretary of the Progressive Women's Council (see Exhibit No. 28, from the Daily Worker, July 23, 1938, p. 2), was organizer of section 15 of the Com-

unist Party in New York in 1934. In the latter capacity, Miss Nelson was active in support of the taxicab drivers' strike, out of which there was one of the beginnings of the Transport Workers Union. (See Exhibit No. 27.) Exhibit No. 27 is from the Daily Worker, March 30, 1934, page 3.

When the Progressive Women's Council merged with the International Workers Order in March 1939, Rose Nelson became an official of the latter organization as head of the International Workers Order, City Women's Department. (See Exhibit No. 29, Daily Worker, March 1, 1939, p. 3.)

The completely Communist control of the Progressive Women's Council is reflected not only in Miss Nelson's leadership of the organization but also in the fact that it merged with another Communist-controlled group, the International Workers Order. Elsewhere, the completely documented account of the Communist control of the International Workers Order will be presented. At this place, evidence on that point is confined to an article by Max Bedacht. (See Exhibit No. 30.) Bedacht's article, which appeared in the Daily Worker for May 21, 1934, is headed "Organize Workers' Children, or the Priests Will Get Them." Bedacht stated that children in the International Workers Order who were over 9 years of age received the New Pioneer Magazine free of charge. The New Pioneer Magazine for May 1934, taken merely as a sample of its general propaganda, had the following to say:

Then, one fine day, you will chase out the bosses, the cops, and the landlords. Like your comrades in the Soviet Union * * *. With them you will make a World Soviet Republic! (New Pioneer Magazine, May 1934, p. 21.)

One of the leaders of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Transport Workers Union is Isobel Walker Soule. She was co-author of the Union's Guide for Ladies Auxiliaries. (See Exhibit No. 31.)

Isobel Walker Soule was listed in the Daily Worker as one of the prominent guests present at a meeting in honor of Ella Reeve Bloor. The article in the Daily Worker was captioned "Women C. P. Leaders Honor Mother Bloor." (See Exhibit No. 32, Daily Worker, January 6, 1938, p. 3.)

Other connections of Isobel Walker Soule have been as follows: (1) Chairman, American Committee for Friendship With the Soviet Union (see Exhibit No. 33); (2) member, Citizens Defense Committee for the Pickets at the French Consulate (see Exhibit No. 34); (3) speaker, League of American Writers (see Exhibit No. 35); (4) signer, open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union (see Exhibit No. 36); (5) sponsor, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (see Exhibit No. 37); (6) national committee member, International Labor Defense (see Exhibit No. 38); (7) member editorial council, Soviet Russia Today (see Exhibit No. 39, Soviet Russia Today, May 1940); and (8) member, National Committee for People's Rights (see Exhibit No. 40).

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION COUNSEL

Harry Sacher is counsel for the Transport Workers Union. Mr. Sacher has been listed as a lecturer at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York. (See Exhibits Nos. 41-42.) Exhibits Nos. 41 and 42 are from the Daily Worker, November 13, 1937, page 8, and March 3, 1938, page 8.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON CONCENTRATION

In July 1933 the Communist Party of the United States adopted a trade-union policy known as concentration. This policy was set forth in a document called an open letter to all party members. It was published in the Daily Worker for July 13, 1933, in a special supplement.

The policy of concentration meant simply that the Communist Party decided to specialize in the larger industrial areas of the United States rather than to carry on work generally throughout the country. Excerpts from the open letter will serve to elucidate the policy of concentration:

The entire work of the Party and the best forces of the Party were to be directed first of all to building up and consolidating the Party and revolutionary trade union movement in the most important industrial centers of the country. * * *

Talk about defense of the Soviet Union and struggle against imperialist war is nothing but empty phrases unless systematic work is carried out in the war industry plants and in the ports. * * *

Concentration of our work on the most important factories. * * *

But the Party cannot carry out this task successfully unless at the same time it establishes its base in the decisive big factories. * * *

Thomas H. O'Shea testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities that the Communist work of organizing the transit workers in New York grew out of the policy of concentration enunciated in the open letter.

F. Brown, alleged by witnesses before the committee to be an American representative from the Communist International, wrote in the Communist for September 1933 that Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and New York were concentration points in the strategy of the Communist Party. (See Exhibit No. 43.)

Also in the September 1933 issue of the Communist, J. Peters wrote that

The five concentration districts, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York were assigned the special task of concentrating on altogether about 50 factories. * * * (See Exhibit No. 44.)

Writing in the Party Organizer for March 1935 Louis Sass said:

After our Extraordinary Party Conference, we seriously undertook to carry through the Open Letter and its central principle: concentration. One of the concentration points assigned to us by the District is the city traction, an industry where thousands of American workers, hitherto untouched by our movement, are organized into company unions on the I. R. T. and B. M. T. systems. (See Exhibit No. 45.)

Shortly after the publication of the open letter, Charles Krumbein, now State secretary of the Communist Party in New York, wrote in the Party Organizer, August-September 1933, as follows:

Another point I think we should consider for concentration is city transport. Transport in all big cities plays a very important political role. I think it is a field that we must concentrate on. (See Exhibit No. 46.)

By March 1936 the Communist Party was prepared to claim that a transport workers' union had been built and led by its members. (See Exhibit No. 47.)

An anonymous "secretary of the Transport Workers Union" wrote in the Daily Worker that a strike of the transit workers would "knock a number of bricks off the capitalist structure." (See Exhibit No. 48.)

Inasmuch as a very large number of the transit employees in New York City are of Irish extraction, the Communist Party, according to its own claims, began early to devise a special approach to these Irish workers. (See Exhibits Nos. 49–50.) Exhibits Nos. 49 and 50 are from Party Organizer, August 1937, and April 1938, respectively.

Both the Daily Worker and the Transport Workers Bulletin have featured the life story of the Irish revolutionist, James Connolly. (See Exhibits Nos. 51–53.) Exhibit No. 53 is from the Sunday Worker, May 14, 1939. According to the testimony of Thomas H. O'Shea, this was calculated to overcome the anti-Communist sentiments which were prevalent among the Irish transit workers.

MAY DAY PARADES

The Transport Workers Union has regularly participated in the May Day parades under the control of the Communist Party. (See Exhibit No. 54.) One of the tests for determining the degree of Communist control in the trade-unions and other organizations is participation in these parades which are under the direction of the Communist Party.

DAILY WORKER AND TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION BULLETIN

According to the testimony of Mr. O'Shea, the Transport Workers Bulletin often borrowed matter from the Daily Worker. In two exhibits attached to this summary, a cartoon by Burek is shown in the Daily Worker (see Exhibit No. 56), and the identical cartoon with the name of Burek removed is shown in the Transport Workers Bulletin. (See Exhibit No. 55.) Exhibit No. 55 is from the Transport Workers Bulletin, September 1934, page 7.

PROMPT PRESS

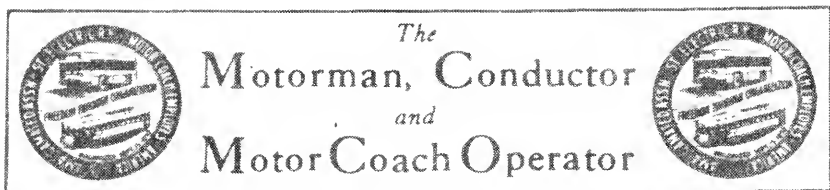
Mr. O'Shea testified that the first issues of the Transport Workers Bulletin were paid for by the Communist Party.

The Transport Workers Bulletin for July 1934 bears the printers' union label No. 209. (See Exhibit No. 59.) This label is leased by the Allied Printing Trades Council to the Prompt Press (see Exhibit No. 57), which in turn is a Communist Party institution. The Prompt Press holds the furniture and fixtures of the Daily Worker. (See Exhibit No. 58, from the New York Post, August 8, 1939.) Almost all of the job printing of the Communist Party is done at the Prompt Press and bears the printers' union label No. 209. (See Exhibits Nos. 60–62.)

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION IN ALASKA

According to a recent issue of the Transport Workers Bulletin, October 1939, page 4, the union has a "closed shop" for "everything on wheels" in Alaska. According to O'Shea, the union has a special interest in Alaska because of its potential importance for air bases in proximity to the Soviet Union. (See Exhibit No. 63.)

EXHIBIT No. 1



Volume 45

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, AUGUST, 1937



Number 8

Published monthly by the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America.

W D Mahon, President

John J Woods, Editor

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Transport Workers

Union Run by Four Leading Communists Working Under Red Orders to Sovietize Transit Industry. Plot Revealed in Affidavit From Deposed T. W. U. President, a Former Communist.

The Transport Workers Union is headed by four leading members of the Communist party who are working under orders of the Reds to sovietize the American transit industry.

This statement may appear startling in the extreme. It is no exaggeration, however, and is supported by affidavits and indisputable facts.

In recent weeks the Transport Workers have gotten a stranglehold on New York city traction and taxicab companies. They are at the present time affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Here are the four Communistic heads of the Transport Workers Union:

Michael J. Quill, president of the T. W. U., who assumed this office at the dictation of the Communist Party of the United States, succeeding Thomas O'Shea, who was ordered by the Communist Party late in 1936 to relinquish the office in favor of Quill.

Austin Dilloughery, alias Hogan, secretary of the T. W. U.

John Santo (an assumed name), general manager of the T. W. U.

Thomas McMahon, Brooklyn organizer for the T. W. U.

O'Shea, the former president of the Transport Workers, who since has renounced Communism, has signed an affidavit naming these men and their connections with the Red party of Russia.

Referring to Quill, Hogan, Santo and McMahon, O'Shea declares:

"During all this time I was well acquainted with every one of these men and I was a member of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Section of the Communist Internationale with headquarters in Moscow), District 2, Section 24, City of New York, State of New York, and each and every one of the above mentioned was also a member of the same Communist organization.

"Santo at the time was the organizer of Section 15 of the Communist Party of the New York District in the Mid-Bronx County."

O'Shea in his affidavit then goes on to describe how the Communists made Quill head of the Transport Workers Union.

EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

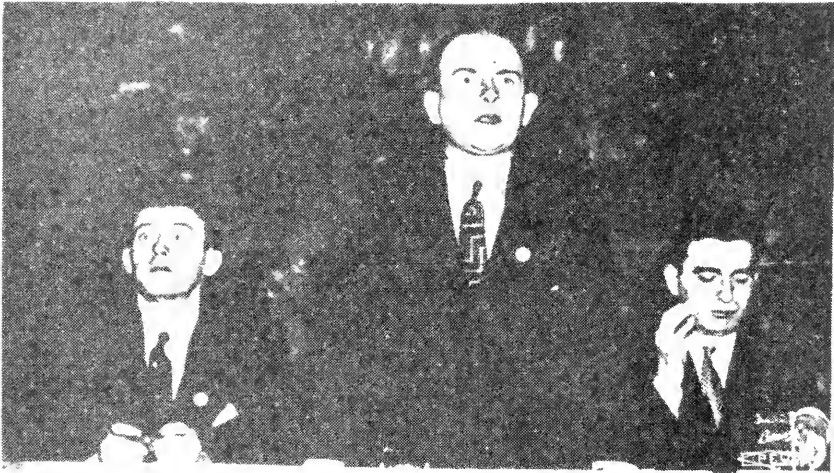
Soon ~~after~~ Quill took over the presidency of the Transport Workers Union in 1935 he, Hogan and Santo made overtures to the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees. They came to Detroit and appeared before the General Executive Board to lay down a proposition.

The proposition was that the Transport Workers be accepted as a Division of the Amalgamated without the necessity for paying initiation fees; that the dues be set at \$1 per month rather than the \$150 minimum required by the Amalgamated Constitution, and that these dollars or part of

members. They denied that they were Reds. However, their attitude and some remarks they dropped, increased rather than lulled the suspicion that they were tainted with the mark of Moscow.

The General Executive Board made a thorough investigation of the Transport Workers Union and came to the conclusion that there was no basis upon which the Amalgamated Association could accept the terms of their offer. At a later date Quill, Hogan and Santo made further representations, but it was obvious that the Amalgamated Association could not suspend its laws in favor of these men.

RED DICTATORS OF TRANSPORT WORKERS



The Communist dictators of the Transport Workers Union. Reading from left to right: Austin Dilloughery, alias Hogan; Michael J. Quill, president; and John Santo, general manager—who was snapped in the act of lighting a hand-made cigarette from a tin of non-union tobacco. According to the affidavit of a former member, an ex-Red, these three are members of the Communist party of the U. S. A., district 2, section 24, City of New York, and have taken control of the Transport Workers' Union under orders of the Communist party. International News Photo.

them, be returned to Quill, Hogan and Santo for organizing expenses. The wishes of the membership—about which they were equally vague—apparently were not to be considered. It was assumed by Messrs. Quill, Hogan and Santo that they would continue to run their organization without the necessity for elections or such annoying democratic expressions. Most of their members at that time, they said, worked in the shops of the New York subway systems.

At one of the sessions with the Transport Workers' representatives, they were asked point-blank if they were Communists, or if there were any Communists among their

Join Machinists, Then C. I. O.

Next the Transport Workers commissars tried to affiliate with the New York lodge of the International Association of Machinists. Apparently the New York Machinists knew too much about the set-up, for they turned Quill down. Later the three Reds were able to get a charter direct from the international headquarters of the Machinists in Washington, giving them autonomy and granting special concessions as to dues, etc.

Quill, Hogan, Santo and their henchmen, aided by scores of Communists willing to give their all for the "cause," put on an intensive organization campaign in the New

TRANSPORT WORKERS' BULLETIN

Published by

*Transport Workers Lodge
International Association of Machinists*

Affiliated with the
America Federation of Labor

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Vice-Presidents

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EXHIBIT No. 3

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

(INDEPENDENT)

NEW YORK CITY
GRA 5-9315

Membership Book

No. # 809

NAME: *A. J. McNICOLAS*

DATE JOINED *AUG-28-34*

POSITION *GUARD*

SECTION *TRANSPORTATION*

DIVISION *I. R. T.*

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION
 INDEPENDENT.
 11th STREET, N.Y.
A. J. McNicolas President
Austin Hogan Secretary

EXHIBIT No. 4

... M. Shapton Answer Attack of Thugs



President Thomas H. O'Shea Speaks 5 Minutes After Assault by 'Brotherhood'—License Number Discloses Owner of Bandit Car

... of a



After investigation of the State



... ..

That day a delegation of union

EXHIBIT No. 5

Quill Says Dies' Newest Outburst Is 'Outworn Piffle' for War Incitement

Transport Workers Union officials scoffed yesterday at the statements made before the Dies Committee by Daniel H. O'Shea and branded him once again "a company-union stooge."

His charges before the war-inciting Dies outfit were called "outworn piffle" in a statement issued by Michael Quill, International President of the union.

O'Shea was described by TWU officers as "a former officer of the union who was completely discredited and ousted from the union."

O'Shea, according to TWU leaders testified before the Dies Committee in 1938 with a number of other company stooges and his wild accusations at that time were never substantiated.

TWU leaders said that there was nothing new in the charges brought

by O'Shea yesterday and they attributed the attention given them by Dies at this time as being in line with his attempts to create a "war hysteria."

"We'd like to know," Mr. Quill said, "if the Dies Committee has determined who has been supporting O'Shea since he became a company stooge in 1938."

O'Shea had stated before the committee that he had been president of the union in 1935.

Transport Union officials did not dispute this. They merely pointed to the fact that when O'Shea was president of the union at that time it contained about 500 members.

"Today," they said, "the union has 50,000 members in New York City alone, not to speak of other locals in several cities."

In an election at the time O'Shea

was president, they showed, the company stooge was defeated when he ran for reelection.

In 1938, they said, charges were brought against O'Shea by members of the union and he was given a trial.

Charges of O'Shea about "Communists controlling the union," officials said, had been brought by him and other discredited "members" at the time of the hearing in 1938 and had been exposed as union-wrecking tactics at that time.

"They are, of course," officials said, "as absurd now as they were then."

O'Shea spoke of gun clubs which he said TWU members were participants in. These statements were also ridiculed by the TWU officials.

"There are no gun clubs," they said.

EXHIBIT No. 6

B.M.T. and I.R.T. Subway Workers Organize New Union to Fight Against the 1932 Slash in Wages

By JOHN SANTO

The Transport Workers Union of America has recently been organized by the B.M.T. and I.R.T. subway workers. The new union is being organized in the face of a general strike of the B.M.T. and I.R.T. subway workers and other employees of the city of New York. The new union is being organized in the face of a general strike of the B.M.T. and I.R.T. subway workers and other employees of the city of New York.

Signs of Result

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Action Started in 148th St. Repair Shop Spreads to Other Sections of the Subway System; Union Raises Demands

The B.M.T. and I.R.T. union is being built by the rank and file of the subway workers. It is being built by the rank and file of the subway workers. It is being built by the rank and file of the subway workers. It is being built by the rank and file of the subway workers.

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paralyzed. Secondly this industry is the strongest of company unionism while the I. R. T. is in weakness. It paid out \$194,000 for the upkeep of the company union. Thirdly, in this industry a very close relation to city politics and will be more so in the future. The Wall Street bankers who own the subway lines are spending enormous amounts to prevent the introduction of the T. U. W. U.

Any development towards the transport industry will benefit the I. R. T. and I. R. T. workers. On account of this it is necessary that all unions and workers organizations shall help and support the building up of this union. Members of other unions can be helped by contributing money to the always busy needs of the I. R. T. and I. R. T. workers. The Building of the Transport Workers Union.

Ready for Organization

The transport workers are ready and waiting for organization. They are waiting for organization. They are waiting for organization. They are waiting for organization.

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EXHIBIT No. 7

Trade Unions In Actions to Aid Thälmann

Mass T.U.U.C. Delegation To Visit Nazi Consul in N. Y. Tomorrow

NEW YORK. An intensive campaign for the freeing of Ernst Thaelmann, German working class revolutionary leader, was launched here with a meeting of the Trade Union Unity Council Friday night, where a program of action was mapped out by independent unions and unions affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League.

The unions reported the following activities for this week and activity in the past week.

Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union: All of next week will be Needle Week in front of the German consulate. Picketing will be carried on every day. Delegations will be sent up at the same time. The union has established Thaelmann corners in some departments. Two open air meetings with Anna Schultz as main speaker are planned in the fur and dress markets. Telegrams are to be sent to the German Consulate and Adolph Hitler.

Metal Union: One thousand, "Free Thaelmann," post cards have been purchased. Cables have been sent to Berlin and Washington. The campaign is being raised at all shop meetings, and other steps proposed by the T.U.U.C. are being carried out.

Shoe Workers Union: Decided at the council meeting that every union shop is to send telegrams of protest, to participate in picketing at the consulate. The union has sent a cablegram to Hitler and is carrying through picketing at the consulate.

Marine Workers Union: Has carried through mass picketing in front of the consulate every day last week. Cables have been sent to Washington and Germany demanding the freedom of Ernst Thaelmann.

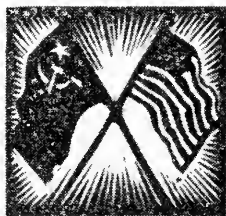
Food Workers Union: Sent a telegram to Washington and Germany. Committee of three has been elected to make further plans for the campaign.

Furniture Workers Industrial Union: Urging locals to order large

numbers of "Free Thaelmann" post cards to be sent to Germany and Nazi Ambassador Hans Luther, in Washington. Sent registered letter to Adolph Hitler demanding Thaelmann's release, and a letter of greetings to Thaelmann, Moscow, Berlin, Germany.

A delegation has been elected by the T.U.U.C. to present this demand to the German consulate. The delegation consists of the following workers: G. Harrison, Ross Kuntsch, M. Perlow, J. Sirots, J. Hurling, Ross, Wm. Bliss, J. Santos, Harry Cantor, Charlotte Todes, Fannie Golos, Sam Nesin. The delegation will appear before the consulate on Tuesday. The T.U.U.C. has also decided to issue a call to all trade unions, independent and A. F. of L. to undertake similar activities.

OHIO MARCHES TOWARD PEACE AND PROGRESS



1937 Yearbook

150th Anniversary of the U. S. Constitution
18th Anniversary of the Communist Party

EXHIBIT No. 8—Continued

GREETINGS

Honor Roll

Cleveland

A. YAKAITIS	V. ROMOND
I RAULINAITIS	JOS. VASILOUSKAS
A. VILKELIS	JOHN A. VAUPSAS
M. VALENTA	S. MARELD
S. SLEKYS	G. PALTON
MIKE P. LUKAS	A FRIEND
B. GALIN	JABACKNIKOFF
C. DARGUS	HARRY CANEGIE
FRANK BAUZA	J. C.
B. KIRSTUKAS	STEVE YURINCH
J. KUODIS	BOB LEE
A. DROLIUS	JOSEPH HARTMAN
P. NEMURA	JOSEPH HARTL
J. DELLIS	M. ERDIE
P. BRUSCUVIENE	R. YURIGA
S. KAZELEONIS	ANDY ZVOLENSKY
J. MACHUTA	GEO. DARABOSH
PAUL BAIKA	JOHN HORVATH

Lorain

JOE MAURIN
 B. DESICH
 THERESA CULIG
 PETER, POPOV
 GEORGE TRAIKOFF
 GUSTAV LUSTIK
 MRS. PAUL MILICIC
 PRODUNICH MILOS
 PETER, SARAVANA
 H. GLADISH
 G. DUMBOFF
 PETE TASHOFF

Toledo

SOCIAL SCIENCE SCHOOL
 EUGENE STOLL

Akron

CHAS. MARKS
 ROSE MARKS
 PHILLIP DUNN
 R. E. DUNN
 ESTHER CRITES
 JOHN SANTO
 ROSIE SCHUBERT
 FRED WILCOX
 A. GULIAN
 W. J. MORGAN

Springfield

SPRINGFIELD BR. C. P.
 HERBERT REED

EXHIBIT No. 9

J. Wissman

DISTRICT TWO

CONTROL TASKS ADOPTED AT ENLARGED
DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING MARCH 8, 1936.

Our Party in the New York District can point to splendid achievements in our work during the past year. During this period, our Party made splendid headway in the trade union field. With some minor exceptions, most of the trade unions of the T.U.U.L. are merged with the A.F.L. In almost all cases our comrades were received with open arms by the masses of organized workers in the A.F.L. unions. At the present time, while all are not functioning perfectly, we have nevertheless, some 300 fractions in the trade unions, and in about 150 trade unions our Party comrades are either fully or partially in the leadership of these unions.

Especially did we make headway in the trade union field of the concentration industries, such as Marine, where the influence of our Party was extended considerably, and the rank and file movement is developing most rapidly; in Traction, where the Union, built and lead by our comrades has grown to the strength of 5,000 members, and now being in the A.F.L., stands out as the only trade union recognized by the workers in the entire industry. The same thing holds true in Railroad, Heavy Metal, etc.

In Harlem, our Party can record some real achievements in developing the united front around the specific issues of the Negro masses. Harlem at this time, stands out as the model section for real mass work. Many sections of the Negro population were won over by our Party through its correct application of the line of the Party for the united front in struggle against discrimination of the Negro masses, and around the attack on the Ethiopian people.

We succeeded in building up the Party from a membership of 9,100 a year ago to about 12,500 at present. Our shop nuclei grew from 182 to some 285.

It is necessary, however, to point out that while we made headway in the trade union field, and in mass work generally, through the correct application of the line of the Party in the struggle for immediate needs of the masses, and against war and fascism, that due to the pressure of manifold tasks of the Party during this period, we neglected to a great extent our concentration of building the Party in the basic industries where these achievements were obtained.

The growth of the shop nuclei are in the main in the light industry and among the white collar and professional workers. The increase in membership is also from among the light industry, white collar and professional workers. In the basic industries, the growth of the Party is negligible.

With the exception of heavy metal and power, the control tasks adopted at the February, 1935 Conference, for the building of shop nuclei, for the increase in the circulation of the Daily Worker, etc., have not been fulfilled.

While doing such splendid work among the Negro people in Harlem, we did not sufficiently build the Party as a result of this work. Especially must we stress our failure to develop the struggle for Negro rights, against discrimination on a District wide scale, outside of Harlem, and bringing the Negro masses into our Party. In addition to Harlem, Section 12, stands out as the only section paying attention to this work. In all other sections, we cannot mark any headway, especially in building the Party among the Negro masses.

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

- 2 -

On Youth work, we can state that while the Y.C.L. in our District grew during the period and that we developed splendid united front movements around specific youth issues, and against war and fascism, the efforts of our Party to build the Y.C.L. does not correspond with the movement developed and with the possibilities in existence.

It is therefore necessary to make the District Committee, and the Party membership of the New York District aware of this situation, so that we will from now on, apply most effectively the line of the 7th World Congress on the united front against war and fascism, particularly in the basic industries, among the basic sections of the American proletariat in our District, in carrying on anti-war, anti-fascist activities, building the trade unions, and firmly rooting our Party among these basic sections in our District.

The building of the Farmer-Labor Party in New York State will not be successfully accomplished if the Party will not, at the same time, be entrenched in the shops and docks of the basic industries, and in the trade unions.

The District Committee, at its enlarged meeting, in reviewing the work of the District, and based on the discussion here, as well as on the decisions of the Conventions held in our Sections, sets itself the following control tasks among others, to be carried through by the time of the District Convention to be held on May 29th, 1936.

Membership (recruiting) to be increased by 4,395, or a total of
16,895.

The dues paying membership to be 15,000.

The membership in the following categories to be increased by:

Negro	510	Light Metal	28
Women	967	Communications	16
Italian	325	Power	22
German	45	Ship Building	11
Youth	633	Teamsters	27
Longshore	46	Textile	6
Seamen	52	Food (large	18
Traction	38	plants)	
Railroad	42	Meat Packing	5
Heavy Metal	9	General Electric	8
		Auto	8

(The above categories are enumerated Section by Section on the following pages)

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

Central Tasks or Membership increase - Section by Section

- 3 -

Section	Member- ship		Negro	Women	Italian	German	Youth	Longshore	Seamen	Traction
	Increase									
1	150		10	25	15		20			
2	300		25	30	30		50			3
3	200		5	35			35	5		
4	750		200	175	25		50			3
5	100		5	25		10	15			
6	100		10	25	15		15			
7	100		8	25	10		10			3
8	150		8	25	10		10			3
9	30		5	10			5			
10	150		20	25	10	10	20			
11	75		10	20	15		15			5
12	100		25	25	25		15			
13	40			10	10		10	2		
14	200		10	50	20		20			3
15	150		10	50	20		25			5
16	100		35	25	10		25			
17	150		10	35	15		20			3
18	150		20	35			15			
19	30		3	8			5			
20	100			25		25	10			
21	20		2	5			3			
22	250		5	50	15		50			
23	100		25	25	10		20			
24	300		30	75			50			10
25	200		10	50			50			
26	50		2	10	15		10	5	5	
27	100		10	25	25		25			
28	100		7	9			10	30	50	
								4 check- ers	7 Radio	
29	150			35	25		25			
Total	4,395		510	967	325	45	633	46	62	38

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

- 4 -

Control Task on Membership Increase

<u>Division</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To be Recruited</u>	<u>Heavy Metal</u>	<u>Sec.</u>	<u>To be Recruited</u>
	3	3		5	3
	4	3		26	6
	5	3			Total 9
	10	10			
	12	3	<u>Light Metal</u>	1	10
	13	2		4	3
	14	3		7	5
	18	3		10	10
	21	3			Total 28
	23	3			
	34	6	<u>Textile</u>	12	6
	Total	42			Total 6
<u>Communications</u>			<u>Food</u>		
	1	10		3	10
	3	3		10	5
	22	3		29	3
	Total	16			Total 18
<u>Rubber</u>			<u>Teamsters</u>		
	3	3		1	6
	5	3		6	3
	7	3		7	3
	10	5		10	5
	20	3		26	3
	24	5		28	1
	Total	22			Total 27
<u>Ship Building</u>			<u>Meat Packing</u>		
	7	5		Sec. 24	5
	19	3			
	26	3	<u>G. E.</u>	Sec. 13	8
	Total	11			
			<u>Auto</u>	Sec. 12	9

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

Control Tasks

-- 5 --

DAILY WORKER AND LITERATURE

<u>Section</u>	<u>Daily Worker</u>	<u>Sunday Worker</u>	<u>Dimitroff's Pamphlet</u>	<u>Olgin's Why Communism</u>
1	100	1000	4600	4600
2	1250	3000	5400	5400
3	500	1500	3375	3375
4	1250	3000	9000	9000
5	400	1200	2500	2500
6	300	1000	3700	3700
7	100	750	4250	4250
8	800	2000	4200	4200
9	100	600	700	700
10	200	1250	2200	2200
11	300	1000	3000	3000
12	150	1000	1500	1500
13	100	250	1250	1250
14	800	2500	4750	4750
15	600	2000	4750	4750
16	500	1500	2750	2750
17	750	2500	5000	5000
18	400	1000	2900	2900
19	30	250	500	500
20	200	1000	2000	2000
21	25	150	500	500
22	200	1500	3750	3750
23	150	1000	1500	1500
24	1000	2000	7000	7000
25	300	500	6400	6400
26	100	500	1000	1000
27	300	800	2500	2500
28	200	250	3375	3375
29	400	1000	3750	3750
Total	<u>11665</u>	<u>36000</u>	<u>89,100</u>	<u>89,100</u>

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

-6-

Control Tasks New Nuclei to be Built in Concentration Industry

<u>AUTO</u> - Sec. 12 - 1 in Tarrytown	<u>LONGSHORE</u>
<u>SEAMEN</u> -Sec. 28 - 5 on 5 ships	Sec. 26 - 1
<u>TEXTILE</u> -Sec. 12 - 2 in Alex. Smith.	28 @ 8 (Hamburg-Amer. (I.M.M. (Cunard (Old Dominion (Fall River (Standard Fruit (Checkers Local (Ward Line
<u>TRACTION</u> -Sec. 2 - 1 - 42nd St. IRT	
4 - 1 - 98th St. IRT	
7 - 1	
8 - 1 - BMT	
11 - 1	
17 - 1 - BMT	Total 9
Total 6 -	
<u>RAILROAD</u>	<u>POWER</u>
Sec. 4 - 1 - Park Ave. Term.	Sec. 5 - 1 - Hellgate
5 - 1 - Pullman Porter	7 - 1 - Hudson Ave.
18 - 1 -	10 - 1 - Queens Elec.
21 - 1 -	20 - 1 -
23 - 1 -	24 - 1 - Irving Place
25 - 1 -	Total 5
Total 6	
<u>HEAVY METAL</u>	<u>TEAMSTERS</u>
Sec. 5 - 1 - R. Hee	Sec. 6 - 1
7 - 1 - Morgenthaler	7 - 1 - Metal Haulage
26 - 1 - (Fliss.	24 - 1 - Amer. Ry. Ex.
1 - (Amer. Machine and (Foundry	28 - 1
Total 4	Total 4
<u>LIGHT METAL</u>	<u>FOOD</u>
Sec. 1 - 1	Sec. 3 - 1 - NBC
4 - 1 - Washburn Wire	10 - 1 - Sunshine
10 - 1 - Ebco	Total 2
Total 3	
<u>COMMUNICATIONS</u>	
Sec. 1 - 1 Western Union	
22 - 1 N.Y. Tel. Co.	
Total 2	

Total Number of New Nuclei to be Built in Concentration Industry - 49

EXHIBIT No. 9--Continued

- 7 -

In order to assure the carrying through of the Control Tasks adopted, the following steps are to be taken by the Party;

1. The following comrades of the District Committee are to be responsible for the concentration points during this period:

Comrade Amter - Harlem and Marine
 Steinberg - Metal
 Wortis - Traction
 Roberts - Power
 Holmes - Railroad
 Nesin - Teamsters

2. The following are the District Reps to be assigned to each section to help guide the work on concentration and to continually check up on the progress in carrying through the control tasks by the Sections.:

<u>Section</u>	-	<u>Comrade</u>
1		Mills
2		Wortis
3		Leeds
4		Amter
5		Nesin
6		Roberts
7		Roberts
8		Holmes
9		Begun
10		Steinberg
11		Litt
12		Steinberg
13		Steinberg
14		Wortis
15		Silver
16		Holmes
17		Roberts
18		Sass ✓
19		Litt
20		Begun
21		
22 ✓		Santo ✓
23		Silver
24		Steinberg
25		Nesin
26		Amter
27		Begun
28		Amter
29		Wiseman

EVERY REP TO EACH SECTION SHOULD DEVOTE AT LEAST TWO HOURS
 A WEEK TO THE SECTION TO WHICH THEY ARE ATTACHED AS REPS.

EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

- 8 -

3. Each one of the concentration industries, the comrades involved in the work, and the section organizers in the concentration industries to be called in by the District at least once between now and the District Convention, for a check up and review of progress made.
4. Section Committees, with the District Rep to their Section, to review one of the concentration points of the Section at least once a month during this period.
5. Members of the District Committee responsible for the concentration industries to meet with the section organizers and the comrades involved in the concentration industries at least once a month to review their work.
6. Check up on the progress of the Daily Worker, Sunday Worker and the literature sales to be made at the meeting of the leading comrades in the Sections, sometime in the middle of April.

The District Committee states that in carrying through the decisions of the Seventh World Congress and their application to the American Party, and in carrying through the decisions on the united front in connection with the Labor Party, our basic and central tasks remain the tasks of building our Party into a mass revolutionary Party of the working class.

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DISTRICT COMMITTEE, District #2.

March 8, 1936.

EXHIBIT No. 10

Irish-American Workers Should Be Champions Of Negro Liberation, Says Murray at Farewell

1,000 WORKERS BID IRISH COMMUNIST LEADER ADIEU

NEW YORK — Packing Irish Plaza, Thursday night, in a farewell demonstration to Sean Murray, General Secretary of the Irish Communist Party, who has just completed a speaking tour in this country, more than 1,000 workers heard leaders of the American revolutionary movement stress the importance of winning Irish-American workers to the struggle of the working class in this country.

It was pointed out by Comrade Murray that one of the greatest obstacles to the struggle of Irish workers of other countries was the use of "antiquated weapons," reformist methods.

"We've learned," he said, "that it's necessary to get rid of these bows and arrows which are only hindrances in our fight and pick up the real weapons of Marxist and Leninist teachings."

Citing the similarity of the struggle of the oppressed Negro workers in this country and the Irish workers under the yoke of British imperialism Comrade Murray said, "I look forward to the Irish workers of America to stand out as the

champions of Negro liberation."

He said that in Ireland they were meeting with fascism and were following in "true Toledo fashion." Comrade Murray brought home the fact that a set-back to the Irish workers class, one of the "minor" groups, opposed by imperialism would be a defeat for the oppressed of the world.

"Before I'm six months back in Ireland," he said, "I want to see a lot of O's and Mac's in the ranks of the American Communist Party."

Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party in this country, greeted Comrade Murray and picked solidarity with the Irish workers.

"The Irish Communist Party," Browder said, "has shown in its short life that it contains the capacity to catch up with the struggle's historical development. We'll have to spur ourselves a bit if we hope to make the revolution here before the Irish do," he said.

Comrade Browder said there has not been sufficient attention given the Irish question here and he was

glad Comrade Murray had come here to remind us of this.

"When Comrade Murray pays his another visit," he said, "we want to be able to introduce him to several thousand Irish Comrades here."

A sum of \$550.00 in cash and pledges to aid the Irish Communist Party in its struggles was raised.

James W. Ford, Communist Party section organizer in Harlem, pledged the support of the Negro toilers to Comrade Murray and pointed out that Negro masses too were engaged in a fight against British imperialism, citing South Africa and India. Martin Hogan, active in the Irish Workers Clubs of this city, spoke and sang old traditional songs of Ireland. Charles Krumbien and Charles Newell also spoke.

Peadar Noonan sang an old Gaelic song. Sandy Hanna who fought with James Connolly, great Irish leader, sang Connolly's Rebel Song. Eula Gray sang two Negro Sharecroppers songs, and Deborah Martell, an opera singer, led several mass songs. Mike Gold also sang. The International Workers' Order orchestra played.

EXHIBIT No. 11

Whether or not I am religious, whether or not I go to church, whether or not I try to save my soul is my own business and none of yours! And if some of you think I have to go to hell because I don't take the advice of some critics, I don't want these critics to save my soul. If I go to hell I'll meet with the employers there, too!

Some others say, "I saw him reading the Daily Worker."

Well, I read English very poorly, and it is about the only language I read. The Daily Worker is printed in English. If it was printed in Gaelic I would perhaps read it also because it is a working man's paper. I have not had the opportunity to read so many papers of this kind in this country, and the day that I don't get news of the labor movement I don't feel is a proper day.

I am not trying to shove my nationality or my religion or my political beliefs down the throat of anybody. That is my private life and I ask you to let it remain my private life.

Another criticism is, "I am sure he is a member of the Communist Party."

I want to tell you that since the very day this union was started I have worked with communists and socialists and democrats and people of other nationalities and political beliefs, and they have done an excellent job in building the organization to the stage of where we were able to come to Madison Square Garden as free transit workers. And the work of all these people has been much more valuable than the sniping of a few narrow-minded critics.

EXHIBIT No. 12



C. I. O.

A Stream-Lined Transport Workers Union

By Michael

Introduction by
LOUIS GORDON

UNTIL SOMEONE invents a way to record accents in a man's writing as well as in his speech, you will never appreciate simply from his written story the full flavor of Michael J. Quill. The rolling Irish brogue is as much a part of this broad-shouldered man as the bright blue eyes, the ruddy good-humored countenance, or for that matter, the twisted briar cane and the tie pin made of a shamrock set over a horseshoe. For this son of a County Kerry farmer was born right into the midst of the struggle for freedom in the mountains of Southern Ireland, and still limps from a bullet wound in his hip, suffered while fighting the Black and Tans. And waiting for him in Ireland is a blue-eyed colleen whom he still expects to marry.

But in the lecture at 153 West 84th Street, New York, national headquarters of the Transport Workers Union, there is no sign that Quill will be able to take time off for that trip to Ireland. The men who operate "everything on wheels" in New York are busy on all three floors of the building which the union took over a few months ago and which is still being remodeled to include a restaurant and handball courts as well as the administrative offices. In his small third-floor office, the walls of which hold but a single picture of John L. Lewis and a map of New York's transportation system, you will find Quill working at a desk full of papers and reports.

The man who wore badge No. 2855 when he was handing out tickets to subway passengers greeted me cordially when he heard I was from THE CHAMPION, and showed me copies of "Youngville, U.S.A." and of the Youth Congress

Proceedings, which he had been reading. Little more than a youth himself, this colorful 22-year old leader of labor is intensely interested in America's youth movement. He was the principal speaker at New York's United Youth Day Festival last Spring, and not only endorsed the Model Youth Congress at Milwaukee July 4, but also urged other trade unions to send representatives. He feels America's trade unions must take a greater part in helping the young people, recognizing the importance of working with and educating the new forces in America's rapidly growing labor and progressive movements.

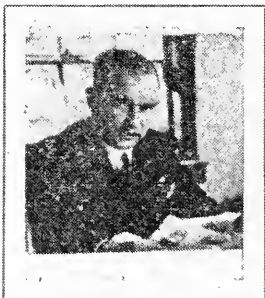
When not in his office or at union meetings, Mike Quill spends his time these days campaigning on behalf of the American Labor Party. "Quill for Councilman" clubs are a familiar sight in the Borough of the Bronx where he won the labor party nomination, and a committee of one thousand transport

workers was formed to help his campaign. But he was hesitant about giving his personal story, emphasizing it was no individual campaign. "Every talk, every speech that I make will advocate the election of all Labor Party candidates. I am not asking the people to support Michael Quill. It is to their interest to vote the whole Labor Party ticket. This isn't my story; it's the story of the transport workers and the people who are getting ready to vote labor."

By Michael J. Quill

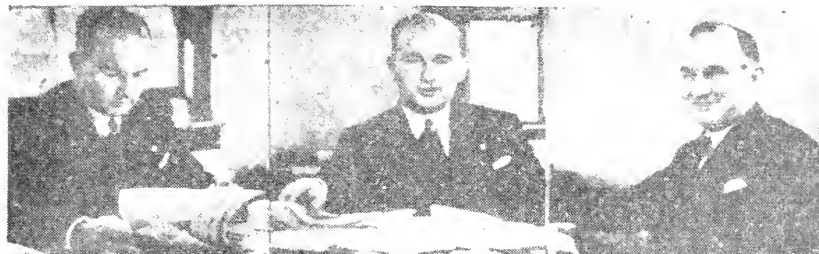
Leave it to the Tracton Kings of Wall Street to give plenty of work to the stool pigeons and the lead-pipe brigade when it comes to stealing the wages of honest American workers. And they were all on the job in April, 1934. So the seven of us who decided to lay the basis for the Transport Workers Union had to meet in secret. Our first meeting was held in a West-side coffee pot. After that we got less swanky. We met in hallways and saloons . . . and dark alleys. One fine morning nine of us met under a bridge in Central Park. It didn't take long for a policeman to come along with his "C'mon you bums, break it up!" And nearly break us up he did. It took three weeks before we could get the nine guys together again. But we didn't go to the park. We discussed organization on rooftops, and even funeral parlors. And furnished rooms. When we hired our first hall for \$25.00 we had a greater thrill and a greater feeling of victory than when we hired Madison Square Garden for the opening of our first national convention. And you know what a victory that was.

But we had something to fight for.



The Champion

EXHIBIT No. 12—Continued



EXPRESS

is Moving "Everything on Wheels"

J. Quill

A few years ago, I had the misfortune to work, along with thousands of others, for a traction company in New York City for 33 cents an hour, 12 hours a day, 84 hours a week, 175 days a year under the most vicious type of company union. The only concession we ever got from the company union, and that they couldn't help was that every four years in the leap year, there are 266 days, and we got that day off!

Twelve hours every day, in the subway change booth, pushing out nickels. It was a hell of a place to put a farmer's son behind the bars of a cage. After a year or so, I left and went out to Pennsylvania to sell religious pictures to the steel workers and coal diggers around Pittsburgh. The miserable conditions there were the worst I have ever seen, and it was there, I learned about unions.

Back in New York, working for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, we decided to do something about it. We knew from the start that the proper line was to build an industrial union. We preached that if fellows were good enough to sweat together, they were good enough to organize together. The company encouraged no end of hostility amongst departments, and at one time, men who worked on the elevated wouldn't speak to subway men. We had to show that the 1936 strike was broken because only the shops were organized, that the 1936 strike was broken because only maintenance were organized. In the Transport Workers Union, we united all workers irrespective of their color, race, religion, nationality or political belief. It was that weapon, the weapon of unity that cannot be overturned by the losses, that won for us.

Three weeks after we started, our seven had expanded to 15. Each of these 45 set about building up new secret groups, and by the end of 1934 we had 500 members. We called a wild-strike, you can believe me. We swapped at the shop gates, each time getting across to more people the thing we had to tell. The men who came in stuck with us, and we grew pretty steady and fast. The next year we numbered 2,200 and by the end of 1935, this had grown to 8,000.

In May, 1937, we stood at 14,000 and because we could not abide the path into which the A. F. of L. had drifted, and because our sympathies were with industrial unions, we affiliated with the C. I. O. The C. I. O. charter was a single wand that worked in miracles. In six months, since our affiliation, we have reached 50,000 in New York and 80,000 nationally, and have built a sound and stable organization.



The Champion

The man who was getting 33 cents an hour for 34 hours a week when I worked with the company is, as a result of our C. I. O. affiliation and of our industrial set up, today getting 81 cents an hour and is working only 32 1/2 hours a week. Thousands of men in the subway, elevated, bus, street car and taxi systems who were working 65, 70, and 72 hours a week are today working 30, 44 and 48 hours a week. We have won increases in wages, with paid vacations for the first time in history, abolition of the stool pigeon system, burial of the company union, sound pension plans, and even provisions in our taxi contracts to prevent the transportation of scabs in any strike.

But our job is not yet done. We know that while the union has won a good deal for us it cannot by itself eliminate those conditions which exist for one-third of our population whom President Roosevelt has described as "ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed". If we want to win security and a better life, we must use both our hands on the political field as we have in our union.

The one is the open, out-stretched hand of friendship and cooperation with those who are ready to meet us in a peaceful and American way. The other hand, and a mighty powerful one, is the clenched fist of organized labor. It can teach the forces of reaction and fascism that we are a united body, that they had better not tax our patience or organized labor will take a swing at them, and when we are finished there will be no Tom Girdlers, but the American people will leave the slums, they will leave the firetraps, they will leave the sweat-shops, and live free and happy, as American workers should.

EXHIBIT No. 13

Quill, Isaacs Vow Discrimination Fight

Promise to Aid Negroes in Struggle for Equal Rights to Jobs at Mass Meeting of Greater New York Employment Body

Manhattan Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs and City Councilman Michael J. Quill pledged their support to the Harlem drive against Negro discrimination by public utilities at a mass meeting Monday in St. Marks Church, 138th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.

The mass meeting was sponsored by the Greater New York Committee for Employment of which the Rev. Clayton Powell, Jr. is chairman.

"The fight against Negro discrimination," declared Isaacs, "is vital. It is vital," he emphasized, "if we want democracy to succeed."

The Borough President further urged that the Negro people fight for a clause in the new City Charter, providing for a penalty against companies which would discriminate against persons because of color or religion.

Dr. Powell, chairman of the mass meeting, reviewed the successes of the Committee in combatting Negro discrimination.

Mr. Powell announced that the Committee will meet with heads of the I.R.T. this week.

Plans were also announced for bringing pressure upon the Borden's and Sheffield milk companies.

Councilman Quill, president of the Transport Workers' Union, said that his union had won weekly wage increases averaging \$5 for 700 Negroes employed by the I.R.T. He stressed the importance of united action by the Negro people, and white members of his union on the question of job-discrimination.

Quill pledged the full support of his union in the fight of the Committee for Employment against the I.R.T. and other institutions which practice discrimination.

"The Transport Workers Union," Quill said, "is determined to wipe out all artificial differences set up by these prejudiced utility officials."

Among the outstanding speakers was Gladys Stoner of the National Negro Congress who demanded the same equalities for Negroes "to work everywhere."

Other prominent speakers were Rev. W. L. Imes, A. Johnson, Walter White, T. Arnold Hill, Henry Kraft, Elizabeth Ross Haynes and many others.

Organizations represented at the meeting were: American League for Peace and Freedom, uptown branch of the Workers' Alliance, National Negro Congress, NAACP, National Urban League, Teachers' Union, Transport Workers Union, Harlem Legislative Committee, Harlem Division of the Communist Party and many others.

EXHIBIT No. 14

~~Daily Worker~~
**Associated Blind
 Hold Annual
 Dance Tomorrow**

~~June 24~~ 1939

The Associated Blind, Inc., will hold its first annual dance and entertainment this Sunday evening at the Transport Hall, 153 W. 64th St., Irving Sells, president of the organization, announced yesterday.

"The Associated Blind," he said, "is an organization of the blind; governed and controlled directly by the blind for the economic, social and cultural betterment of all the blind.

Sponsors of the affair include Congressman Vito Marcantonio; Councilman Michael Quill, president Transport Workers of America, CIO; Donald Ogden Stewart; Granville Hicks; Max Bedacht, president International Workers Order; Justice Dorothy Kenyon; Rev. C. Everett Wagner; Councilman Salvatore Ninfo; and Jerome Davis, president American Federation of Teachers, AFL.

EXHIBIT No. 15

Randolph, Quill Head Equal Rights Meeting

Sunday Worker April 9 1939

Other Union Leaders Accept Invitations to Speak At Conference Wednesday On Negro Discrimination

A. Philip Randolph, Vito Marcantonio, Ben Gold, Michael Quill, Adam C. Towell, Rabbi J. C. Cohen, and other well known labor, political and religious leaders, are scheduled to speak at a monster mass meeting Wednesday night, April 12, at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 W. 138th St.

The meeting is being called in support of the anti-discrimination bills proposed by the New York State Temporary Commission on the Urban Colored Population and is sponsored by the Manhattan Citizens Committee.

The anti-discrimination bills in question are now before the New York State Assembly and Senate.

At a meeting of the Manhattan Citizens Committee at the Harlem YMCA Friday night plans were completed for Wednesday's mass meeting. Representatives from various trade union, fraternal, religious, social and other organizations voted for a torchlight parade to precede the meeting at the church.

ALBANY DELEGATION

They voted also to send a delegation to Albany to support assemblymen and senators in their effort to get the anti-discrimination bills out of committee.

No definite date was set for departure of the delegation but it is likely that some persons will leave for Albany directly after the mass meeting.

Great enthusiasm greeted the committee's report that it had distributed more than 100,000 postal cards, petitions and telegrams throughout the State designed to bring pressure at Albany for passage of the bills.

The following organizations are among those which are supporting Wednesday night's mass meeting and which will have large representations present: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, Musicians Union, Local 802, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Modern Trend, the Salem Lyceum, the Coordinating Committee of Youth Action, Student Literary Society, National Negro Congress, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Jewish Peoples Committee.

EXHIBIT No. 16

Quill Will Speak ^{D. W.} ~~Dec~~ ²⁰⁻²¹
At Bronx Meeting
On Anti-Semitism
Daily Worker 12/20/33

A mass meeting to protest Nazi persecution of racial minorities will be held Wednesday at 8 P. M. in the Montefiore Congregation, Hewitt Place near Longwood Ave.

Miss Meyerovitz, executive secretary of the Juvenile House will preside and churches of different denominations will be represented. The speakers include Michael Quill, Rabbi Katz, Rev. W. T. Hawthorne of Hunt's Point Presbyterian Church; Sonia Schechter of Progressive Women's Council; Dr. Eliasberg, German-American Writers' Assoc.; Rabbi Miller, Mr. Gertner, Jewish People's Committee.

Sponsoring groups are Progressive Women's Council, League to Aid Refugees, American Jewish Congress, League for Peace and Democracy, Bronx Council for Racial and Religious Tolerance, Juvenile House.

P. T. 25 52

EXHIBIT No. 17

Daily Worker
Quill Urges Labor Back
Dec 14 1938
ILD Xmas 'Neediest' Drive
D.W. Dec 14 1938 (over)

**Transport Workers Head Calls on Union and
 Affiliates to Support Fund Campaign
 for Labor Prisoners and Families**

New York City's Councilman Michael J. Quill, International President of the Transport Workers Union, last week called upon all the members of his organization and its affiliates to support the 1938 annual Xmas Drive for labor's neediest cases, it was announced by the International Labor Defense.

"Aware of the very necessary and able work done by the International Labor Defense," Mr. Quill stated in a special message to the I.L.D., "in behalf of organized labor throughout the past and preceding years, I am happy to join with you in your annual Christmas Drive for labor's Neediest Cases.

"I am urging all in our union and our affiliate organizations in the labor movement, and I am asking all my friends personally to support the Christmas drive. I feel confident that whatever goal you have set for yourselves will be achieved and that funds collected will go as has always been the case in the I.L.D., to very worthy fighters for the workers of America."

Mr. Quill and his fellow officers in the Transport Workers Union of America have already made generous personal contributions to the Xmas Drive for labor's prisoners and their families.



MICHAEL J. QUILL

Wear
**LISLE
 HOSE**

BILFIELD
 Corset Stylists
 HOSIERY-LINGERIE
 Corner 119 St.

EXHIBIT No. 18

New Year's Eve Dinner
 Daily Worker
 Ball for Refugees
 From Nazi Terror
 Dec. 21, 1938

Distinguished Americans representing the arts, sciences, the labor movement, and literature have joined their forces to sponsor a gala New Year's Eve Ball, for the benefit of political refugees from Nazi terror, at the Hotel Riverside Plaza, 73rd St. west of Broadway. It was announced today by the Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees, I.L.D. The Hon. Vito Marcantonio is chairman of the committee and Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, treasurer.

The sponsors include:

Albert Einstein, Hon. Stanley Isaacs, Councilman Charles Belous, Councilman Michael Quill, Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Hon. John T. Bernard, Hon. Usher L. Burdick, Hon. John P. Kvale, Hon. Jerry J. O'Connell, Hon. Henry G. Teigan.

Stella Adler, Marc Blitzstein, Millen Brand, Malcolm Cowley, Charles Friedman, Wanda Gag, Helen Hays, Lillian Hellman, Grenville Hicks, Leo Huberman, Matthew Josephson, George S. Kaufman, Paul J. Kern, Raymond Massey, Guthrie McClintic, Clifford Odets.

Harold J. Rome, Donald Ogden Stewart, Leland Stowe, Genevieve Taggard, Tamiris, Charles Weidman, Richard Wright and Leane Zugsmith.

George Olson and his Society Orchestra will play for dancing. The floor show and entertainment will consist of Luther Adler, Morris Carnovsky, Leif Erikson, Katherine Locke, Raymond Massey, Benno Schneider and other stars of radio stage and screen.

EXHIBIT No. 19

Daily Worker

CIO Leaders To Hit Nazis At Pitt. Rally

Nov 18 1938

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 17.

—A large mass meeting to protest Nazi atrocities against the Jews will be held tomorrow at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement House in this city under the auspices of the League for the Protection of Minority Rights and the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Included among the outstanding labor and progressive figures who will address the rally are Ben Gold, president of the International Fur Workers Union; Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union; Lewis Merrill, president of the Office Workers Union; Rev. B. F. Crawford, and Assemblyman-Elect Charles M. Christler. Gold, Quill and Merrill are in Pittsburgh as delegates to the CIO Convention now in session here.

Rev. Crawford and Christler will report on their recent interview with the State Department in Washington where they appeared as delegates of the sponsoring organizations to demand severance of relations with the Nazi government.

EXHIBIT No. 20

June 24, 1938
What's Happening
in Mexico Today?
all Redo

*June 23
1938*

HEAR:

V. LOMBARDO

Prominent Speakers:

Charles HENDLEY ✓
 Teachers Union, A.F.L.

M. GUARRIGA ✓
 Hotel and Restaurant
 Workers, A.F.L.

Michael QUILL ✓
 Pres. Transport Workers
 Union, C.I.O.

Francis J. GORMAN ✓
 Pres. United Textile Workers
 Union of America, C.I.O.

TOLEDANO

General Secretary, Confederation of
 Mexican Workers

Tomorrow Night

FRIDAY, JUNE 24th, 8 P.M.

Other Speakers

ROYAL WINDSOR

68 West 68th Street

MEXICAN FILMS
 MEXICAN DANCERS

Admission 25c

AUSPICES: American Friends of the Mexican People

EXHIBIT No. 21



CONSUMER-FARMER MILK COOPERATIVE, INC.

215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

GRAMERCY 5-4066

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

PRESIDENT: Meyer Paredach, attorney, Director of Cooperative Distributors, Inc.
 SECRETARY: Benjamin Brown, Jr., Marketing Exec., member Bronx Cooperative Society
 TREASURER: Mildred A. Garvling, Headmaster, Recreation Rooms and Settlement

OTHER CONSUMER DIRECTORS

Heman Jenkins, Head Survey Department, Henry Street Settlement; Chairman: Milk Consumers Protective Committee member; Mayor LaGuardia's Milk Committee
 Clifford T. McAvoy, Deputy Commissioner of Welfare.
 Dr. Charles A. Marles, Chemical Engineer; member, Board of Directors of Consumers Union Assistant Professor, City College
 Rose Nelson, Executive Secretary, Progressive Womens' Council
 Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church.
 James P. Reid, D.D.S.; Chairman, Membership Committee, Member, International Workers Order

FARMER DIRECTORS

Nelson AB, Worcester Cooperative Association.
 Maurice Barnes, Worcester Cooperative Association.
 Walter Groth, Fly Creek Valley Cooperative.
 Casper A. Mellon, Chateaugay Cooperative Marketing Association
 Jerry F. Sheehan, Chateaugay Cooperative Marketing Association

LIST OF SPONSORS

Dorothy S. Backer, Board of Child Welfare.
 Max Bedacht, General Secretary, International Workers Order.
 Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, Chairman, Consumers League.
 Ruth Brindis, Author, "How to Spend Money."
 Dr. Eveline M. Burns, Professor of Economics, Columbia University.
 Dr. Malcolm Campbell, President, Bronx Cooperative Society.
 Dr. Jane Perry Clark, Professor of Government, Barnard College
 John C. Cort, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.
 John J. Dillon, Editor, Rural New Yorker.
 Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot, Ethical Culture Society.
 Kendall Emerson, Managing Director, New York Tuberculosis Ass'n.
 Morris L. Ernst, National Lawyers Guild.
 G. Lowell Field, President, Manhattan Consumers Cooperative Federation.
 Winifred Frazier, Public Relations Secretary, United Neighborhood Houses.
 Dr. A. Anton Friedrich, Professor of Economics, New York University.
 Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, Rabbi, Free Synagogue.
 Joseph Gross, member, Board of Directors, Knickerbocker Village Cooperative.
 Helen Hall, President, National Federation of Settlements; Headworker, Henry Street Settlement.
 Charles J. Hendley, President, American Federation of Teachers, Local No. 5.
 Albert Heymann, merchant.
 Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church.
 James A. Hubert, Executive Secretary, New York Urban League.
 Arthur Kallet, Director, Consumers Union.
 Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Public Health Authority.
 Felice J. Louris, Acting Chief of Enforcement under the Minimum Wage Division, Dept. of Labor.
 Helen Merrill Lynd, Instructor, Sarah Lawrence College; co-author, "Middletown".
 Dr. Robert M. MacIver, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University.
 Kathleen McInerney, Executive Secretary, League of Women Shoppers.
 Frieda S. Miller, State Industrial Commissioner, Department of Labor.
 Matthew Napor, Secretary, Department of Sanitation, New York City.
 Frank Oimstead, Executive Secretary, New York University Christian Association.
 Jean Ellis Poletti.
 Michael J. Quill, President, Transport Workers Union; member, New York City Council.
 A. Philip Randolph, President, Sarah Lawrence College; co-author, "Middletown".
 Dr. Kingsley Roberts, Chairman, Bureau of Cooperative Medicine.
 Alex Rose, State Executive Secretary, American Labor Party.
 Rose Schneiderman, President, Women's Trade Union League.
 Mary K. Simkhovitch, Director, Greenwich House; Vice-President, Municipal Housing Authority.
 Norman Thomas, National Chairman, Socialist Party.
 C. D. Williams, Attorney.

EXHIBIT No. 23

PROTEST BRUTAL NAZI PERSECUTIONS.

MASS RALLY

AT

MASTERS INSTITUTE

103 ST AND RIVERSIDE DRIVE

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 14

AT 8:30 P.M.

SPEAKERS

Dr. Howard D. McGrath
MINISTER, GRACE METHODIST CHURCH

Prof. Joseph Campbell
YORK UNIVERSITY

Rabbi Joseph Zeitlin
TEMPLE ANSHE CHESED

Eugene P. Connelly
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Samuel M. Blinken
CHAIRMAN, A. L. P. 11th A. D.

AUSPICES

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY 11th A. D.

2824 BROADWAY (110 ST),

SPONSORS



PAUL J. WERN,
President Civil
Service Commission,

DOROTHY KENTON;

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Editor of "OPINION";

CHARLES BELLOUS,
City Councilman;

MICHAEL J. QUILL,
City Councilman;

PROF. BERNARD J. STERN,
Columbia University.

PROF. REINHOLD
NEIBURH,
Union Theological
Seminary.

RABBI ISRAEL
GOLDSTEIN;

BARNABY O'LEARY,
Transport Workers
Union.



ROOSEVELT AWAITS COURSE IN GERMANY TO GUIDE RELATIONS

Indicates Wilson Will Stay
Here Until Nazis' Policy on
Minorities Changes

TRADE ISSUES ALSO FACTOR

President to Continue Study
of Situation With
Germany

Jews in Germany Get Extermination Threat

George Grosz Gets His Final
Papers in Brooklyn—Emanuel
Feuermann Files Plea

NOTED EXILES TURN TO U. S. CITIZENSHIP

Both Escaped the Nazis

CATHOLICS URGED TO FIGHT FASCISM

Manich Pact Described
As a 'Common Hold-Up'

The Rev. Thomas A. Fox of the
Paulist Fathers yesterday character-
ized and the pope of Munich as a
'common hold-up' and said that
the events abroad in the last few
years had been reducing national-

LABOR FOR JEWS URGED

Labor Committee Asks Day's Pay
From A.P.I. Members

JEWS WOULD SHIFT MILLION FAMILIES

Netherlands Group Wins Wide
Backing for Coordination
of Aid for Poles

EXHIBIT No. 24

LABOR GIVES QUILL ULTIMATUM ON REDS

Party Orders Him to Back Anti-
Communist Declaration or
Lose Council Nomination

ISSUE UP TO ALL NOMINEES

Move to 'Purge' Rank and File
Begun as Big Unions Urge
Members to Enroll

Michael J. Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, must decide by next Tuesday whether he will subscribe to the resolution condemning the Communists in the United States as betrayers of labor or lose the American Labor party designation as a candidate for reelection as a member of the City Council from the Bronx.

This was decided yesterday by the State executive committee of the Labor party, which adopted a general resolution calling upon every candidate of the party to subscribe to its constitution, platform and anti-Communist resolution. Of the party's thirty-odd candidates, already nominated or prospective, Mr. Quill is the only candidate to whom the executive committee's resolution is known to apply.

Mr. Quill, who did not attend Thursday night's meeting of delegates from the Labor party's district clubs and affiliated unions which adopted the anti-Communist resolution, was on his way to San Francisco yesterday to attend the convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Murray Weinstein, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a member of the Labor party executive committee and a delegate to the C. I. O. convention, flew to San Francisco last night. He was delegated by the executive committee to hand Mr. Quill copies of the anti-Communist resolution and the executive committee's resolution and inform him that a reply from him was expected by next Tuesday at the latest.

Next Tuesday is the last day on which nominating petitions for candidates for the City Council may be filed with the Board of Elections.

The Party's Announcement

The action of the State executive committee was announced by Alex Rose, State secretary, in the following statement:

"The special meeting of the State executive committee of the American Labor party, held Thursday, Oct. 5, at State headquarters, 151 West Fortieth Street, at 2 P. M., decided to call upon each candidate for public office of the Labor party to re-affirm and to subscribe to the constitution of the American Labor party, its platform and the special resolution on the European conflict adopted by the State executive committee and approved by a city-wide conference held at Manhattan Center on Oct. 4.

"Any party candidate who fails, refuses or neglects to act in accordance with this decision of the State executive committee will be denied the nomination and support of the Labor party."

Although the foregoing resolution applies specifically only to candidates, Mr. Rose said that acceptance or rejection of the anti-Communist resolution would be made the "acid test" of membership in the Labor party. The leaders are determined to purge the party of Communists, it was said.

Unionists Urged to Enroll

To prevent further infiltration of Communists into the party and communistic control of any of the party's district organizations, Mr. Rose said that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers sent out letters to 81,000 members throughout the State, informing them of the party's condemnation of Communists and the Stalin-Hitler pact and urging them to enroll as Labor party members to make certain that the Communists would not win in any future local primary contests within the party.

Mr. Rose said that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union would send similar letters to its 150,000 members in the State and the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union to its 25,000 members.

Louis Waldman, a member of the Labor party executive committee, expressed gratification at the adoption of the anti-Communist resolution but added that he would continue to urge that Mr. Quill be dropped as a candidate whatever his statement on the resolution may be.

Andrew R. Armstrong, minority leader of the City Council and candidate for reelection in Brooklyn, was the first of the Labor party candidates to subscribe to the anti-Communist resolution.

EXHIBIT No. 25

Quill - Cr 2 - 5/8/40
JCG

Progressive Committee

To Rebuild The

American Labor Party



Candidates For State Committee
 Progressive Committee to Rebuild the A.L.P.
 1425 HIXON AVENUE, BRONX, N.Y. • Phone BR 7-7753

To the Enrolled Voters of the American Labor Party—

YOUR vote in the Spring Primaries on April 2nd for State Committeemen, five from each Assembly District, will determine the course and program of our Party for the next two years. They will be critical years which will decide whether the American Labor Party will live and flourish or whether it will degenerate into a sectarian ineffective group.

We believe that the ALP can become a vital force for peace and progress in the life of our State and nation only by the election of State Committee candidates pledged to support the program of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party.

OUR BASIC PROGRAM

We adhere to the original ALP principles adopted in 1936 and brought up to date to include the problems now confronting us—especially keeping out of the European war which threatens to engulf us. This can be best accomplished by a "Return to the New Deal."

Such a program can be made effective only by the widest mass support, by making the ALP truly representative of manual and white collar workers, organized and unorganized, farmers, small business men and professionals.

Unfortunately, our Party in the past has had no such wide appeal. It has been organized and controlled from the top. A. F. of L. and C.I.O. members have been excluded from the ALP leadership. Two-thirds of the current State Executive Committee are needle trades officials and their paid lawyers. Liberals, representatives of other trade unions and up-Staters deliberately were denied places on that governing body.

ALP members, who showed independence of thought or were critical of the ruling clique, were harassed, hounded and threatened with expulsion. Countless indignities and injustices were endured in the belief that such methods ultimately would be abandoned.

We long hesitated to institute a primary contest in our Party. The results of the dictatorial policies, however, have been so disastrous that we, who represent the vast majority of the active club leaders and trade unions of the Party, would betray our trust if we did not speak out now.

FRUITS OF THE ROSE DICTATORSHIP

Under the leadership of Messrs. Rose, Antonini and Dubinsky, four out of the five ALP State Assemblies failed of election in 1938; four out of six ALP New York City Councilmen were defeated in 1939, and the party vote in the State was cut in half.

EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

Experienced political observers agree that by splitting the party on a false "red" issue last fall, by refusing to nominate the ALP's most popular vote getter, Councilman Michael J. Quill, and by failing to cooperate with other good government and progressive forces, Messrs. Rose and Dubinsky went a long way to holding New York City back to Tammany Hall.

•THE WELL-KNOWN RED HERRING

In recent years every progressive measure from slum clearance to control of stock gambling has been called "Communist." Every public figure from President Roosevelt to Mayor LaGuardia, when advocating features that would in the slightest cut down the profits or prerogatives of big business, has been called a Communist.

Messrs. Rose and Dubinsky, whom we are now opposing, were themselves called Communists four years ago when they were advocating progressive measures. So we are not surprised that the charge now should be heaped against the Progressive Committee by these very same gentlemen, because we still advocate the program they have abandoned.

Is it "Communist" to speak out against the 500-million-dollar cut in WPA or the 60-million-dollar slash in N.Y.A. "A year ago," Rose spoke, teenily, against WPA cuts. Today he is as silent as the tomb.

Is it "Communist" to speak out against steps leading towards war? Mr. Rose pays lip service to peace, but does everything in his power to divert attention from domestic problems, the solution of which is the only ultimate safeguard against war.

No, Mr. Rose knows that talk of "Communist infiltration" is merely the device of a desperate man to cover up his utter failure as a political leader. He said so himself only last Spring when he assailed Louis Waldman for bringing similar charges. The *New York Times* quoted Mr. Rose on May 15th, 1939:

"There is a strong demand that we should expel Waldman. He slandered the Party and deliberately set out to hurt it by raising the issue of Communism. . . . He is animated by a spirit of rule or ruin. . . . We do not know of any member of our Party who is also affiliated with the Communist Party."

So, raising the issue of "Communism" is simply a trick to "rule or ruin." You have it on the authority of . . . Alex Rose!

The overwhelming majority of the membership supports the Progressive Committee and its program. In New York City alone 83 out of the 93 ALP clubs endorse the Progressive Committee. Practically every club chairman, trade union leader and the great majority of recent ALP candidates likewise support the Progressive Committee.

We state categorically that all charges of "Communism" against these persons and the Progressive Committee are utterly false.

WHAT THE COURTS HAVE SAID

Messrs. Rose, Dubinsky and their lieutenant, Harry Greenberg, late chairman of the New York County organization, have denied the charge of dictatorship. See what the Supreme Court had to say about their methods of running our party.

First of all, thwarting an illegal attempt by Greenberg and associates to hold over in office as County officials after Primary Day, the Supreme Court, sustained by the Appellate Division, ordered the reconvening of a New York County Convention, under an impartial chairman, to elect new officers.

This was the first time in the history of any political party in this State that the methods of its leaders were exposed as so blatantly undemocratic, obstructive and deceitful, that the Courts took the matter of supervision of a party convention out of the hands of its erstwhile leaders and put it in the control of a court appointee.

At the reconvening of the New York County Committee a full slate of Progressive County leaders, headed by Eugene P. Conolly, Chairman; Ross Kenyon, Secretary, and Herman Shumlin, Treasurer, was elected by a majority of about five to two.

EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

Before Messrs. Rose and Greenberg were asked to attempt to nominate a Tammany District leader to the Progressive majority of the County Executive set aside the nomination stating that this nomination had more than 20 members of the New York County Executive

THE "LIBERAL AND LABOR COMMITTEE"

Messrs. Rose and Dubinsky, leaving no doubt in the minds of the New York County Executive Committee as to their anti-Socialist intentions, made a public statement in the name of the Liberal and Labor Committee of the present State Committee. They put the election of the new State Committee in the hands of the upstate voters by making a public statement to the effect that:

They hope that by this underhanded maneuvering they will be able to control the new State Committee. We know that our upstate voters will be used to deny the will of a majority of our party voters from New York City, M.P.C.

When the controlling clique was challenged in the courts for squandering party funds in the current Primary fight in violation of the Election Law, it set up a liberal front—a so-called "Labor and Liberal Committee". The face is different but the voice—the same—the finances.

The main membership of this Committee includes 300 middle class and upper class business men and other paid apologetes—Frederick Udney, I.L.G.W.U., the sincerest traitor of the party, and others.

What about the liberals? There are a few who say "I am not such a liberal as I would like to be" and that most of them joined without knowledge of the issues. Many resigned or were expelled from the Committee because they have been read and more are expected.

As for the rest, it is a many-sided group of factionalists of the right and left, many of whom are members of the Labor Party and whose only purpose is to gain attention for their own petty and petty criticisms. Harry Rogoff and Alexander Kahn of "The Jewish Daily Forward" are the only New York Jews who have made a profession of recanting for years. Sidney Hershkovitz, who has been criticizing the Labor Party for the "left" for many years, and who has just been brought into the Labor Party to introduce a number of resolutions which are designed to destroy our Party.

As *The New Republic* said on Nov. 29, 1939:

"The impression is spreading that the party is under the thumb of a narrow-minded set of right-wing socialists who have contributed to the political ruin of every other movement in which they have been influential. Unless that impression is removed, the party is in danger of stagnation or extinction."

Let us stop this fight in our Party affairs.

LET US REBUILD THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY INTO A GREAT DEMOCRATICALLY-RUN LABOR AND LIBERAL PARTY FOR LIBERTY, SECURITY AND PEACE

PRIMARY DAY
 APRIL 2nd, 1940 Polls Open from 3 to 10 P. M.
Vote for the Progressive Slates

EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE

MEMBERS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- CLARA THOMPSON
Vice President
- JOHN HERRICK
Secretary
- THOMAS J. HERRICK
Treasurer
- LOUIS B. BOWEN
Executive Director
- JOHN CURRAN
President
- REBECCA ROY
Vice President
- JAMES KEARNEY
Secretary
- CONRAD KELLY
Treasurer
- ALICE WHELAN
Vice President
- ROSE KEARNEY
Secretary
- FRANK FERRER
President
- ARTHUR FORBES
Vice President
- HENRY KRUMHOLTZ
Secretary
- ALICE WHELAN
Vice President
- FRANK FERRER
President
- MARSHALL FERRER
Secretary
- MARGARET MARSHALL
Vice President
- JOSEPH PAPP
Secretary
- LEONARD MARSHALL
Vice President
- IRVING HERZENBERG
Secretary
- MICHAEL COLMAN
Vice President
- PHILIP D'AMATO
Secretary
- IRENE JASPER
Vice President
- MANUAL KARDONSKY
Secretary

- CLARA THOMPSON
President, Transport Workers
- JOHN HERRICK
President, Maritime Union
- THOMAS J. HERRICK
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- LOUIS B. BOWEN
Chairman, Organ. of AF of M
- JOHN CURRAN
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- REBECCA ROY
Legislator, Transport Workers
- JAMES KEARNEY
President, U. P. of A
- CONRAD KELLY
Chairman, Organ. of AF of M
- ALICE WHELAN
Author and Editor
- ROSE KEARNEY
Chairman, Organ. of AF of M
- FRANK FERRER
Author and Editor
- ARTHUR FORBES
Chairman, Organ. of AF of M
- HENRY KRUMHOLTZ
Author and Editor
- ALICE WHELAN
Chairman, Organ. of AF of M
- FRANK FERRER
Author and Editor
- MARSHALL FERRER
Author and Editor
- JOSEPH PAPP
Vice President, Transport Workers
- LEONARD MARSHALL
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- IRVING HERZENBERG
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- MICHAEL COLMAN
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- PHILIP D'AMATO
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- IRENE JASPER
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council
- MANUAL KARDONSKY
Vice President, N. Y. State Ind. Council

THE CANDIDATES
of the
PROGRESSIVES
for
STATE COMMITTEE IN
YOUR DISTRICT ARE:

16th Assembly District—Kings County

IRVING HERZENBERG
MICHAEL COLMAN
PHILIP D'AMATO
IRENE JASPER
MANUAL KARDONSKY

EXHIBIT No. 26

Ladies Auxiliary

One year ago this month the Council of Women's Auxiliaries was formed. A general call was issued to all Auxiliaries of Trade Unions to send delegates to a meeting at the Women's Trade Union League for the purpose of forming this Council at which problems and work of Women's Auxiliaries could be discussed and experiences exchanged.

Representatives from the Painters', Bakers', Milk Drivers', Linotype Operators', Machinists', Ship Yard Workers', Technicians', Opticians', Butchers', Transport Workers' and W.P.A. Workers' Union Auxiliaries attended.

The delegates told how their Auxiliaries were formed and the progress and activities of their particular Auxiliaries. From the reports of the delegates, with few exceptions their organizations were formed during a strike of their husbands or male relatives union.

Our Auxiliary was one of the exceptions and our delegate explained the incident of a Mrs. Palmiano who during the month of December 1934, picked the B. M. T. building with her two children because her husband had been fired for Union Activity. She received publicity in the newspapers. As a result her husband was reinstated. A few of the union men's wives learned from this the assistance they could give their husbands and together with Mrs. Palmiano formed the basis of the Auxiliary we have to-day.

At this meeting of the Women's Trade Union League two permanent delegates from each Auxiliary were elected.

Since the formation of this Council many new Auxiliaries have sent delegates to the Council and in many cases our delegates have been responsible for the formation of such Auxiliaries as the plumbers, photoengravers, Horn & Hardart's, and the musicians unions.

When all the delegates meet at the first annual conference with delegates from associations with which we are affiliated, such as Women's Trade Union League, Progressive Women's Council, League of Women Shoppers and others, we can safely say that we have organized and given guidance to thousands of women in both A.P.L. and C.I.O. organizations.

As a permanent delegate and Educational Directress of the Council of Women's Auxiliaries I would like to invite more of our members to attend this conference and hear of the good work other Auxiliaries have contributed to furthering the Labor Movement.

The first Annual Conference is to be held at the Women's Trade Union Leagues, Saturday, March 5th at 1 P.M.

MIRIAM MURPHY
Chairlady
Brooklyn Local—L. A.

New Board Greets L.A.

Ladies Auxiliary
Dear Sisters:

Please accept the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the splendid words of encouragement and expression of good-will tendered by you to the newly elected officers, and Executive Board of the Transport Workers Union of Greater New York. Your steadfast cooperation and splendid support has been greatly instrumental in building up the morale of our Union membership and their families in many of the critical periods of our organization.

Our Union feels very proud of the women in our auxiliary and looks upon it as an instrument which will one day grow to much more powerful dimensions than at present.

In the course of the next two years the Union's Executive Board will look forward to closer cooperation between the Auxiliary and the Union, to the end that the welfare of the thousands of our members and their dependents will be best served.

Again expressing our deepest thanks for your warm encouragement, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

The Executive Board of the
Transport Workers Union
of Greater New York
Austin Hogan, President
J. J. Fitzsimon, Rec. Sec'y
G. Faber, Financial Sec'y.

EXHIBIT No. 27

Bronx Workers in C.P.-Called Meet Hail Taxi Strikers

Speakers from Unions,
Communist Party
Address Crowd

NEW YORK—An enthusiastic meeting of workers was held in support of the taxi drivers' strike on Wednesday night at 2075 Clinton Ave., Bronx, N. Y., under the auspices of the Communist Party.

The meeting was addressed by representatives from the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, who brought a donation of \$18.30 for the strike fund, Rose Nelson, organizer of Section 15 of the C. P., who brought a donation of \$25 for the strikers, and Harry Reinwood representing the Daily Worker. Mr. Taft was chairman of the meeting.

An attempt to disrupt the meeting was made by a group of picketers who presented themselves as taxi drivers. This group was soon quieted down by a delegation of taxi drivers who came to the meeting from the Manhattan Local of the Taxicab Drivers Union. Joe Hines, told of the excellent support that the taxi drivers have been receiving from the Communist Party and the left wing labor movement throughout the city. He was greeted by long applause when he said that the taxi drivers should support the Communist Party.

A fund collection taken up for the strikers amounted to \$61.30.

Downtown Communist Back Cabmen

NEW YORK—Responding to the call of Section 1 of the Communist Party, more than 600 workers, including 200 taxi drivers, attended a mass meeting held last night at Manhattaniseum, 68 E. Fourth St., to obtain funds for the drivers, who are waging one of the most militant struggles experienced here in years.

With Joseph Brandt, section organizer, acting as chairman, \$118 was collected for the drivers, \$100 being donated by the Majestic Shop unit of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

Five taxi drivers joined the Communist Party.

Speakers included Carl Brodsky, a striking taxi driver, Gene Morse, and Sam Stein, of the International Labor Defense.

EXHIBIT No. 28

Women Appeal For Support of Peace Parade

Leaders Call for Full
Participation on
August 6th ~~1918~~
1919

An appeal to the women of New York to march in the August 6 Peace Parade of the American League for Peace and Democracy in commemoration of the Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, was made yesterday by Rose Nelson, Secretary of the Progressive Women's Council.

"The Executive Board of the Progressive Women's Council fully endorses the peace parade called by the American League for Peace and Democracy," Miss Nelson declared. "We call upon all members and friends to participate fully in this huge demonstration for peace and democracy by marching in the special women's contingent organized by the committee.

"Our branches are asked to get on the job immediately in their committees to mobilize the largest turnout of women that any peace demonstration has ever had in New York since the days prior to the World War."

Viola Brothers Shore, noted American novelist, asked yesterday, "Why, when ninety per cent of the people want peace are ten per cent able to prolong the slaughter going on today and threatening to engulf the whole civilized world?"

"Because the ten per cent are organized for war. They know what they want and they are banded together with a well-planned program for getting it."

"Let us the ninety per cent organize ourselves around a program for peace. We have the numerical strength. We are guilty of criminal negligence if we do not use it properly."

Mrs. Margaret Lamont, noted women's leader who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, yesterday joined a long list of distinguished women in sponsoring the parade.

EXHIBIT No. 29

Progressive Women's Council Merges with IWO

Outstanding Organization for Women's Rights in America to Spur Activities in Amalgamation; Rose Nelson to Continue Leadership

The International Workers Order city office today announced the merger of the Progressive Women's Council with their organization.

The Progressive Women's Council was organized in 1923 and has during its existence earned for itself a reputation as one of the outstanding organizations fighting for women's rights in America.

In announcing this amalgamation, Dave Greene, City Secretary of the I.W.O., stated "the aims and purpose for which the Progressive Women's Councils was organized can best be served by this merger. We have through our women's clubs attempted to do exactly the same work that the Women's Councils are engaged in. It is, therefore, only natural that our two organizations with identical interest and objectives should unite. The addition of these tested and experienced forces will accelerate our work among women. Our organization provides a broad base for this kind of work with its 40,000 members in New York and 150,000 members nationally, a large portion of whom are women."

ROSE NELSON TO HEAD DEPT

Congress Dave Greene pointed out that the women's clubs would be part of the existing clubs of the I.W.O. with two types of membership, regular I.W.O. members and the progressive benefits of the order with special members who are limited to the women's clubs and the progressive benefits of the order combined.

Rose Nelson, one of the original founders of the Progressive Women's Council will continue as head of the I.W.O. City Women's

Department. There was unanimous agreement on this choice by both the Women's Councils and the I.W.O. because of her many years of able leadership in this kind of work.

Many old and new friends were on hand today to greet Rose Nelson when she officially took over her new job in the city office of the I.W.O., 80 Fifth Ave., 15th floor.

Miss Nelson, in a letter addressed to every member of the Women's Council yesterday, announced the merger and expressed the belief that the amalgamation would serve better than ever to "promote the progressive influence in the life of American womanhood."

Here full statement follows:
Dear Friends:

We take this opportunity to inform you that the Progressive Women's Council has merged with the International Workers Order and will function as the women's clubs of the organization.

In this new relationship we hope to continue our work on the larger and progressive movement on a larger scale than ever before and in this way help to promote progressive influence in the life of American womanhood.

Our offices now are located at 80 Fifth Ave. 15th Floor. Our telephone number will be ALgonquin 4-2521.

Organize Workers' Children, Or the Priests Will Get Them

I.W.O., With Low-Cost Insurance, Lags Behind Religious Insurance Rackets

By MAX DEDACHT

THE Children's Section of the International Workers Order comprises now between 6 and 7 thousand members. Since the end of our great membership drive on January 15 we have admitted an average of 69 children weekly or a total of 1,421.

The present strength and the regular growth of our Children's Section indicates too much inattention to this work of organizing workers' children. It indicates a serious underestimation of the importance of the organization of the workers' children in our workers' fraternal Order.



The enemies of the working class are not as inattentive in this respect. The official reports of fraternal organizations to the

Insurance Department show the four Catholic fraternal organizations alone increased their paying members in 1934 by nearly 100 children. This children's policy is not restricted to the payment of their parents' premiums. They want their children to have a share in the insurance benefits. As a result of this, the workers' children are being organized and taken into the service of capitalism.

Every workers' organization, therefore, must extend its organizational, educational and social activities into the field of the workers' children.

The International Workers Order accepts children from 1 to 16 years of age. The dues for these workers' children are minimal. Up to 9 years of age they amount to 3c per week, and from 9 to 16 years to 4c a week. For this a graduated life insurance is granted, reaching a maximum of \$100. Children over 9 years of age receive the New Pioneer Magazine free of charge. Children over 9 years of age are organized into regularly functioning branches under the leadership of the Pioneer movement.

It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care. It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care. It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care.

the risk is next to nothing. For us in the International Workers Order the insurance is based more nearly on actual cost.

The degree in which we can do that is determined by the attention that our branches and our members pay to the organization of workers' children. Up to now they pay little attention. The regular flow of children into our Order should bring us at least 250 a week. Every branch should make efforts to bring children's branches as auxiliaries. Every branch should not only attend to organizational work but should assign to the children's branches active forces for leadership and guidance.

This is work that cannot be left to campaigns; it is all-year-round work, it is every-day work.

How to Build an English Branch

Last week a member of the National Committee of our English Section was sent to speak at a celebration of one of our branches. A large number of young people and their parents were connected with the celebration with the important result that 200 new members were present. Our comrades should explore possibilities for building an English speaking branch, was not satisfied merely to make a speech and point this out. He decided to remain in the town, to work and actually work with the comrades the next morning.

Engaged and inspired by the clear and logical talk of the speaker on how only our members themselves can build our Order, the comrades went out to organize among friends and neighbors as a team.

It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care. It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care. It is the duty of every workers' organization to take the children of the workers into its care.

This example may well be followed by the comrades of our Order generally.

EXHIBIT No. 31

THE BEGINNING OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY
OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

BY
MARY SANTO

•

A GUIDE FOR LADIES AUXILIARIES

BY
ISOBEL WALKER SOULE

•

RULES AND BY-LAWS
OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY OF THE T.W.U.

•

UNION TRAINING PAMPHLET No. 1
Educational Department

•

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
153 West 64th Street * New York, N. Y.

EXHIBIT No. 32

Women C.P. Leaders Honor Mother Bloor

Veteran Labor Leader Tells of Trip to the Soviet Union—Praises Democratic Success of Land in Recent Elections

A group of women leaders paid tribute to Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, who recently returned from the Soviet Union, at a luncheon yesterday, at the New Hankow Restaurant.

Principal among the speakers was Margaret Cowl, chairman of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party, which sponsored the dinner, who presented the chairlady of the day after paying a glowing tribute to the "grand fighter and great comrade," calling Mother Bloor "the symbol of progressive womanhood of America."

Rebecca Grecht, chairlady, welcomed the enthusiastic audience and called Mother Bloor one of the most active fighters against reaction and "cesspool" Trotzkyism.

CHEER MOTHER BLOOR

She continued by saying that Mother Bloor for more than 30 years has been and still is considered the epitome of an ardent fighter in the foreground of the struggle of American labor. Upholding the American Revolution and its democratic tradition, the veteran labor leader will be the

beacon of progressivism for our young pioneers, she concluded.

Mother Bloor, when introduced received an overwhelming ovation, which ended with the International.

During the course of her remarks, she vividly impressed upon the audience the "democratic success" of the Soviet Union. Recalling the eight-hour demonstration in Red Square after the announcement of the election returns, she enthusiastically told of the absolute happiness of the citizens.

Among the prominent guests who welcomed Mother Bloor were Paul Crosbie, Jeanette Turner, Isabelle Walker, Soule, Grace Campbell, Charlotte Rodas, Grace Hutchins, Charles Krumbeln, Anna Damon, Jessie Taft, Louise Thompson, Rose Wortis, Helen Holman, Benita Williams, Audley Moore and Floss Nason.

EXHIBIT No. 33

'Friendship With USSR' Committee To Hold Rally

FEB 6—1940
Noted Persons Include
In Speakers List
For Feb. 7

DAILY WORKER

Declaring that in the present international situation American Soviet friendship is a great asset for peace, the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union, ~~Isabel Walker Scobie, chairman, has~~ been organized to maintain and foster friendship between the American and Soviet peoples.

The Soviet Union has given constant evidence of its respect for and friendliness toward the American people. The American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union feels that it can serve the interests of American Soviet friendship best by bringing clear and authoritative information about the Soviet Union, especially when the news is beclouded by anti-Soviet propaganda.

The committee is holding its first public meeting Wednesday night, on the subject "The Truth About the Soviet Union in the World Crisis."

The speakers will include a former Russian general under Kerensky, General Victor A. Yakhontoff; the editor of a Finnish newspaper, Toivo Vuorela; Anna Louise Strong, writer and journalist; the Rev. Thomas L. Harris; Milton Wolff, commander of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Henry Hart, the novelist and critic who will act as chairman.

The meeting will be held at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and 8th Avenue, on Wednesday, Feb. 7.

EXHIBIT No. 34

Seldes Heads Group to Aid Jailed Pickets

DAILY WORKER
Urges for Support to
Handle Appeals for
53 Arrested

APR 8 1940

Appealing for public support for the defense of the fifty-three men and women arrested in the demonstrations at the French Consulate March 20 and 29, George Seldes, chairman of the Citizens Defense Committee for the pickets at the French Consulate, declared yesterday that the committee has arranged for appeals in the cases of the defendants who have already been "tried."

"Members of the committee indicated," Mr. Seldes said, "that they felt strongly that the arrests were made in violation of the constitutional right to picket, that the judge before whom seventeen of the cases have so far been tried, Magistrate Leonard McGee, was prejudiced and unjust, and that the sentences he set were unusually and unjustifiedly heavy."

"The committee has arranged for appeals and is certain that the record will justify new trials. We appeal for public support in our protest against this violation of American justice."

Members of the committee include Martha Dodd, daughter of the former Ambassador to Germany; Herman Shumlin, theatrical producer; Isabel Walker Soule, journalist; Morris Watson, chairman of the Progressive Committee of the American Labor Party; Shaemas O'Sheal, writer; Vinceant Sheean, writer; Arthur Kober, playwright; and David McKelvy White of the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade.

EXHIBIT No. 35

**Jacques Roumain, Famed Negro Poet, Says
Writer's Job Today Is to Fight Against Im-
perialists; Speaks at Reception Here**

~~DAILY WORKER~~

NOV 17 1939

Jacques Roumain, noted Haitian poet and writer, speaking at the banquet-reception held in his honor Wednesday night at the 137th St. YWCA, denounced the imperialist war in Europe as another attempt of Nazi, British and French imperialism to re-divide the world at the expense of millions of exploited colonials. The event was under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League of American Writers.

Roumain called upon all writers to enlist themselves in the cause of the persecuted Jews, Negroes and all people who are ground down under the heel of imperialism.

In paying tribute to the writer, who is now exiled from his native land after being sentenced to three years in prison for his struggles against imperialist exploitation, Max Yergan, head of the Committee on African Affairs and vice-president of the National Negro Congress, said:

"Mr. Roumain is the symbol of the fight against imperialism, and Haiti, his country, represents the un-ending battle against imperialist oppres-

of millions of people."

Speaking for the council for Pan-American Democracy, Dr. David Efron, warned that America's good neighbor policy was disappearing in the relations between America and the Caribbean region. He denounced proposed bills before Congress and the newspaper campaign calling for the seizure or purchase by the United States of the European possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

**CONDEMNS LINDBERGH'S
SPEECH**

After exposing the slanderous speech of Charles E. Lindbergh, mouthpiece of Wall Street, who described the Western Hemisphere as the natural domain of the United States, Dr. Efron declared:

"It is unnecessary to point out the threatening implications of these developments. The suggested seizure or purchase of the European possessions is typical of the traditional imperialistic policy of dealing with people as if they were cattle or merchandise. Furthermore, these same proposals, as well as Lindbergh's scurrilous remarks constitute an unspeakable affront to the Negro and Indian peoples of the Americas, who comprise a great portion of the population of the Western Hemisphere."

"The ominous trend just mentioned," he continued, "in connection with the European possessions is, unfortunately, only one of several recent developments that make one wonder whether the Good Neighbor Policy is still in practice. I need not call your attention to the attempted transfer of American vessels to Panamanian registry, as a means of evading the recently Neutrality Act.

EXHIBIT No. 35—Continued

"Such attempt to use the sovereignty of a small sister Latin American country for the benefit of certain shipping companies, is, indeed, hardly compatible with the Good Neighbor Policy.

"I am proud," he went on, "to belong to a people for whom the cry 'liberty' has always found a living echo, to the first Negro people who have broken their chains and crushed slave domination after an implacable war against Bonapart's France. I am proud as an individual and as a Haitian citizen that one of my ancestors, General Andre Rigaud, fought in Savannah in 1793 for the independence of North America.

ARTS WRECKERS OF CULTURE

Castigating Chamberlain's crusade" for a bogus democracy no different from that of Hitler, Mr. Baumain said:

"We hate fascism with its racial myth which is a challenge to science, an insult to man's dignity. We condemn a regime which burns the books of Heine, reduces Hindemith to silence, outlaws aesthetically Rembrandt, Cezanne, Van Gogh, and drives into exile the best thinkers of modern Germany.

"But we also refuse to adhere to those who have imprisoned the great writer Louis Aragon and who make use of the same methods of brutal persecution while pretending to fight it in their enemy, by sending millions of men to their death.

"We oppose a spurious crusade for liberty when this same liberty is refused to India. We oppose the bloody carnival of a holy war for democracy when the most modest enjoyment of this same democracy is refused to Africa and Indochina.

"An analysis of the character of this war which threatens to crush us in its murderous machinery, and its effect upon present day history of the American people seems to me a more urgent task than to stir the dust of archives in a professional manner or to orate upon the future of literature.

"Who is not against war is for war. I urged the voices of the men of good will, from Argentina to the United States to unite, to harmonize in a single symphony of brotherhood. May they rise and proclaim the unshakable will of all the Americas to preserve the inestimable treasures of humanity—peace and liberty."

Other speakers were William Pickens, N. A. A. C. P. leader, Isabel Walker Soule, Rolph Humphries, and Jean Lantho. Several poems were read by Gwendolyn Bennett, well known Negro writer.

EXHIBIT No. 36

To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace

The text of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans

ONE of the greatest problems confronting all those engaged in the struggle for democracy and peace, whether they be liberals, progressives, trade unions, or others, is how to unite their various forces so as to achieve victory for their common goals. The Fascists and their allies are well aware that democracy will win if its supporters are united. Accordingly, they are intent on destroying such unity at all costs.

On the international scene the Fascists and their friends have tried to prevent a united anti-aggression front by sowing suspicion between the Soviet Union and other nations interested in maintaining peace.

On the domestic scene the reactionaries are attempting to split the democratic front by similar tactics. Realizing that here in America they cannot get far with a definitely pro-fascist appeal, they strive to pervert American anti-fascist sentiment to their own ends. With the aim of turning anti-fascist feeling against the Soviet Union they have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the USSR and the totalitarian states are basically alike. By this strategy they hope to create dissension among the progressive forces whose united strength is a first necessity for the defeat of fascism.

Some sincere American liberals have fallen into this trap and unwittingly aided a cause to which they are essentially opposed. Thus, a number of them have carelessly lent their signatures to the recent manifesto issued by the so-called Committee for Cultural Freedom. This manifesto denounces in vague, undefined terms all forms of "Dictatorship" and asserts that the Fascist states and Soviet Russia equally menace American institutions and the democratic way of life.

While we prefer to dwell on facts rather than personalities, we feel it is necessary to point out that among the signers of this manifesto are individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government, and it is precisely these people who are the initiators and controllers of the committee.

A number of other committees have been formed which give lip service to democracy and peace while actually attacking the Soviet Union and aiding reaction. Honest persons approached by such committees should scrutinize their aims very carefully and support only those groups genuinely interested in preserving culture and freedom and refusing to serve as instruments for attacking the Soviet Union or aiding Fascism in any other way.

The undersigned do not represent any committee or organization, nor do they propose to form one. Our object is to point out the real purpose behind all these attempts to bracket the Soviet Union with the Fascist states, and to make it clear that Soviet and Fascist policies are diametrically opposed. To this end we should like to stress two basic points in which Soviet socialism differs fundamentally from totalitarian fascism.

1. The Soviet Union continues as always to be a consistent bulwark against war and aggression, and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order.

2. It has eliminated racial and national prejudice within its borders, freed the minority peoples enslaved under the Tsars, stimulated the development of the culture and economic welfare of these peoples, and made the expression of anti-Semitism or any racial animosity a criminal offense.

3. It has socialized the means of production and distribution through the public ownership of industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

4. It has established nationwide socialist planning, resulting in increasingly higher living standards and the abolition of unemployment and depression.

5. It has built the trade unions, in which almost 24,000,000 workers are organized, into the very fabric of its society.

6. The Soviet Union has emancipated woman and the family, and has developed an advanced system of child care.

7. From the viewpoint of cultural freedom, the difference between the Soviet Union and the Fascist countries is most striking. The Soviet Union has effected one of the most far-reaching cultural and educational advances in all history and among a population which at the start was almost three-fourths illiterate. Those writers and thinkers whose books have been burned by the Nazis are published in the Soviet Union. The best literature from Homer to Thomas Mann, the best thought from Aristotle to Lenin, is available to the masses of the Soviet people who themselves actively participate in the creation of culture.

8. It has replaced the myths and superstitions of old Russia with the truths and techniques of experimental science, extending scientific procedures to every field, from economics to public health. And it has made science and scientific study available to the mass of the people.

9. The Soviet Union considers political dictatorship a transitional form and has shown a steadily expanding democracy in every sphere. Its epoch-making new Constitution guarantees Soviet citizens universal suffrage, civil liberties, the right to employment, to leisure, to free education, to free medical care, to material security in sickness and old age, to equality of the sexes in all fields of activity, and to equality of all races and nationalities.

10. In relation to Russia's past, the country has been advancing rapidly along the road of material and cultural progress in ways that the American people can understand and appreciate.

The Soviet Union has an economic system different from our own. But Soviet aims and achievements make it clear that there exists a sound and permanent basis in mutual ideals for cooperation between the U.S.A. and the USSR on behalf of world peace and the security and freedom of all nations.

Accordingly, the signers of this letter urge Americans of whatever political persuasion to stand firmly for close cooperation in this sphere between the United States and Soviet Russia, and to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period in the affairs of mankind.

EXHIBIT No. 36—Continued

Among the 400 Signers of the Open Letter Are:

- DR. THOMAS ADDIS, *Professor of Medicine, Yale University*
 HELEN ALPERT, *Executive Director National Public Housing Conference*
 PROF. NEWTON ARVIN, *Professor of English, Smith College*
 DR. CHARLES S. BACON, *Honorary President, American Russian Institute, Chicago, Ill.*
 FRANK C. BANCROFT, *Editor, "Social Work Today"*
 MAURICE BECKER, *artist*
 LOUIS P. BERK, *Editor, Modern Age Book, Inc.*
 T. A. BISSON, *Research Associate, Foreign Policy Association*
 ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, *infragist, writer*
 MARC BLITZSTEIN, *composer*
 ANITA BLOCK, *Theatre Guild playwright*
 SPERLING BOWEN, *poet*
 RICHARD BOWER, *staff writer, "The New Yorker"*
 MILLER BRAND, *writer*
 SIMON BRINS, *architect*
 ROBERT BRIFFAULT, *writer*
 PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER, *Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University*
 PROF. EDWIN HARRY BURGUM, *Associate Professor of English, New York University*
 FIELDING BURKE, *writer*
 KATHERINE DEVERAUX BLAKE, *trucker*
 META BENCIS, *writer, widow of the first Socialist Congressman*
 PROF. ROBERT A. BEADY, *Professor of Economics, University of California*
 I. F. BEHREND, *writer*
 BESSIE BEATTY, *writer*
 VERA CASPARY, *scenario writer*
 MARIA CRISTINA CHAMBERS, *of the Author's League*
 PROF. ROBERT V. CLEGG, *Research Professor of Biology, New York University*
 HAROLD CURMAN, *producer*
 ROBERT M. COATES, *writer*
 LYTIA COHEN, *writer*
 KYIE CRICHTON, *editorial staff of Current Weekly*
 MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD, *writer*
 PAUL DE KRUIF, *writer*
 PIERRE DE BOSQAT, *writer*
 WILLIAM F. DODD, JR., *Chairman Anti-Viet Literature Committee*
 STANLEY D. DORNE, *University of Michigan*
 PROF. DOROTHY DOUGLAS, *Department of Economics, Smith College*
 MURIEL DRAFER, *writer*
 PROF. L. C. DUNN, *Professor of Zoology, Columbia University*
 PROF. HAZARD CHEVREUSE, *Professor of French, University of California*
 PROF. GEORGE B. CRESSLY, *Chairman of the Department of Geology and Geography, Stony Brook University*
 HENRY G. FORD, *library specialist*
 PROF. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, *Professor of Sociology, New York University*
 KENNETH FEARING, *poet*
 PROF. MELBORN FAIRCHILD, *Professor of Economics, Bryn Mawr College*
 ALICE WITHERSON FIELD, *writer*
 SARA BIRD FIELD, *writer*
 WILLIAM O. FIELD, JR., *Chairman of the Board, American Russian Institute*
 IRVING FINEMAN, *writer*
 MARJORIE FISCHER, *writer*
 ANGEL FLORES, *actor, critic*
 WALTER FRANK, *writer*
 WANDA GAG, *artist*
 HUGO GELBERT, *artist*
 ROBERT GELMAN, *Department of English, New York University*
 PROF. WILLYTINE GODDRELL, *Associate Professor of Education (retired), Columbia University*
 MORTIMER GRAVEL, *of the American Council of Learned Societies*
 DR. JOHN H. GRAY, *economist, former President of the American Economic Association*
 WILLIAM GROPPER, *artist*
 MAURICE HALPERIN, *Associate Editor, "Bonds Abroad"*
 EARL P. HANSON, *explorer, writer*
 PROF. SAMUEL N. HAYES, *Professor of Russian Language and Institutions, Chicago University*
 REV. THOMAS L. HARRIS, *Nail Executive Secretary, American League for Peace and Democracy*
 DORIS HILL, *writer*
 ERNEST HEMINGWAY, *writer*
 GRANVILLE HICKS, *writer*
 PROF. NORMAN E. HIMES, *Department of Sociology, Colgate University*
 CHARLES J. HINDLEY, *President Trackers' Union of the City of New York*
 LEO HUBERMAN, *writer*
 LANGSTON HUGHES, *poet*
 AGATHA ILLES, *writer*
 REV. OTIS G. JACKSON, *Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Flint, Michigan*
 SAM JAFFE, *actor*
 OWEN JONES, *poet*
 MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, *writer*
 GEORGE KAUFMAN, *playwright*
 PROF. ALEXANDER KAY N., *Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, University of California*
 FRID C. KELLY, *writer*
 ROCKWELL KENT, *artist*
 DR. JOHN A. KINGSLEY, *social worker, Administrative Consultant, W.P.A.*
 BEATRICE KINKADE, *writer*
 LINDEN F. KIRSTEIN, *bulletin producer*
 ARTHUR KOBOR, *playwright*
 ALFRED KAPLAN, *poet*
 EDWARD LANG, *lecturer*
 DR. CORLISS LANDOLT, *writer, lecturer*
 MARGARET I. LANDOLT, *zoologist, writer*
 J. J. LANKS, *artist*
 JAY LEIDA, *cinema critic*
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 PROF. MAX LERNER, *Professor of Government at Harvard College*
 MILDRED LESLER, *writer*
 MYER LEVIN, *writer*
 PROF. CHARLES W. LIGHTBODY, *Department of Government and History at Emory University*
 ROBERT ALBION LITTLE, *Secretary of the Union Islands and Editor of "The New Republic"*
 PROF. HILFORD E. LUCKOCK, *Yale University Divinity School*
 KATHERINE DUPELA LUMPKIN, *writer*
 KLAUS MANN, *lecturer, writer, son of Thomas Mann*
 PROF. F. O. MATHIESSEN, *Associate Professor of History of Literature, Harvard University*
 DR. ANITA MARBURG, *Department of English, Sarah Lawrence College*
 DR. GEORGE MARSHALL, *economist*
 ALINE MACMACHON, *actress*
 CLIFFORD T. MCGIVIN, *Instructor, Department of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York*
 PROF. V. J. MCGILL, *Professor of Philosophy, Hunter College*
 PROF. ROBERT MCGREGOR, *Reed College*
 KATHY MCKENNEY, *letter*
 DAWDIN J. MEERBER, *lecturer*
 PROF. HERBERT A. MILLER, *Professor of Economics, Bryn Mawr College*
 HARVEY O'CONNOR, *writer*
 CLIFFORD OREY, *playwright*
 SHAMUS O'SHEEL, *writer, critic*
 MARY WHITE O'NINGTON, *social worker*
 S. J. PERRELMAN, *writer*
 DR. JOHN P. PETERS, *Department of Internal Medicine, Yale University Medical School*
 DR. EMILY M. PIERSON, *physician*
 WALTER N. POLAKOV, *engineer*
 PROF. ALAN PORTER, *Professor of German, Vassar College*
 GEORGE D. PRATT, JR., *agriculturist*
 JOHN HUE PRISTON, *writer*
 SAMUEL PUTNAM, *writer*
 PROF. PAUL RABIN, *Professor of Anthropology, University of California*
 PROF. WALTER RAUENSTADT, *Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University*
 BERNARD J. REIS, *accountant*
 BERTHA C. REYNOLDS, *social worker*
 LYNN RIGGS, *playwright*
 COL. RAYMOND ROJINS, *former head of American Red Cross in Russia*
 WILLIAM ROJINS, JR., *writer*
 HAROLD J. ROSE, *composer*
 RALPH ROOPER, *writer*
 DR. JOSEPH A. ROSEN, *former head Jewish Joint Distribution Board*
 EUGENE SCHOFER, *an artist*
 PROF. MARGARET SCHWABACH, *Associate Professor of English, New York University*
 PROF. FRIEDRICH J. SCHWABACH, *Professor of Government, Williams College*
 PROF. VERA D. SCHUBER, *Professor of English, Wellesley College*
 GEORGE SHEDS, *actor*
 VINCENT SHERRIN, *actor*
 VIOLA BROTHERS SHORE, *scenario writer*
 HERMAN SHUMWAY, *producer*
 PROF. ERNEST E. SIMMONS, *Assistant Professor of English Literature, Harvard University*
 IRINA SOKRATIANA, *writer*
 DR. F. TREVISEL SMITH, *educator*
 DR. STEPHENSON SMITH, *President Division Common, with Federation*
 HENRY SONDERGARD, *actor*
 SMORE WALKER SMITH, *critic, editor*
 EDNA STANBER, *actress*
 CHRISTINA STEAD, *actress*
 A. E. STEIN, *artist*
 ALFRED K. STERN, *business specialist*
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EXHIBIT No. 36—Continued



Scenes from "The Conquests of Peter the Great," the new Soviet picture playing at the Cannon. Left, Alla Tarasova and Nikolai Simonov, leading players in the picture. Right—a naval battle.

SIGNERS OF OPEN LETTER

(Continued from page 25)

DR. BERNHARD J. STEIN, *Department of Sociology, Columbia University*
 DONALD GORDEN STEWART, *writer*
 MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Associate Editor, "The Nation"*
 PAUL STRAND, *producer and photographer*
 PROF. DIRK J. STRUCK, *Professor of Mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 ROBERT TUCKER, *scenario writer*
 C. JUVETTE TAYLOR, *recreational engineer, head of Automaton Club, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 JAMES THURBER, *artist, writer*
 REBECCA JANNET TIMBER, *social worker, writer*
 JEAN STARR UTERMAYER, *poet*
 LOUIS UTERMAYER, *poet*
 MARY VAN KLEEK, *economist, Associate Director International Industrial Relations Institute*
 SYLVAINANT VAN VLIEN, *artist*
 J. RAYMOND WAUGH, *economist*
 DR. WILLIAM HENRY WAUGH, *physician*
 PROF. HARRY F. WARD, *Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary*
 LYND WARD, *artist*
 MURIEL WATSON, *New York Newspaper Guild*
 CLARA WEATHERMAN, *writer*
 MAX WERER, *artist*
 DR. GERALD WENGT, *Director of Science and Education, New York World's Fair*
 REV. ROBERT WHITAKER, *clergyman and lecturer*
 ALBERT RHYN WILLIAMS, *writer*
 DR. WILLIAM CUREUS WILLIAMS, *writer*
 ELLA WINNER, *writer*
 RICHARD WRIGHT, *writer*
 ART YOUNG, *artist*
 LEANET ZUGMITH, *writer*

COALESCENT TWINS

(Continued from page 23)

observed the same to hold true for pain reaction; prolonged sensations of pain felt by the one were not observed in the other. Thus despite the fact that the blood contents were common, the central nervous systems reacted quite differently under these conditions.

All these facts as well as others which we learned in our observations of these coalescent twins do not refute, of course, the general views held about the rôle which one or another component element of the blood plays in the conditions of the organism. The results of the investigations showed only that in all cases involving an intricate and complex process of the organism as a whole, the central nervous system plays the initiating and organizing rôle. Every state such as sleep, pain, appetite, satiety, pathological conditions etc., must be regarded as a whole system of processes in which the liquid factors play a very important rôle. The central nervous system has a determining influence on all the separate moments of these processes, on their succession, their placement in time and even the specific significance of each element. It is obvious from this that the theory of sleep which explains it as arising from *hypostomones*—the poisons of sleep according to Prof. Pieroni—which appear in the blood, must be revised somewhat to correspond with our findings. Sleep and its origin in particular cannot now be explained by the accumulation of poisonous products in the blood. Sleep is of course connected with some kind of chemical changes in the general blood flow of the

organism; but these changes must rather be regarded as a consequence of sleep and not as its cause. The central nervous system, however, does determine sleep. In this respect our facts confirm the nervous theory of sleep and in particular Academician I. Pavlov's inhibitive or brake theory of sleep.

(A second article, telling of the discoveries resulting from the autopsy of the body of the twins after their death, will appear in the next issue.)

STALIN AUTO PLANT

(Continued from page 21)

lative of 45,000 workers, 'the Palace of Culture' and 'the auto-giant' are but natural expressions to them. Our young people are accustomed to them.

"I remember the plant as it was in 1918. At that time there were only 750 workers in the entire establishment. Instead of the body department there stood a half-trimmed carpentry shop and on the place where now the mechanical-assembly division stands, one could hear the rustling of the trees in a large tangled thicket.

"So for me those expressions to which we have become accustomed do not seem to be at all usual. They fill me with great pride in our country. It may be said that we have only become acquainted with the automobile after the revolution. We had none of the necessary technique before for building automobiles. And now we have great plants with the most modern technical equipment and with a highly qualified personnel and in these plants new peoples are emerging as well as new machines."

EXHIBIT No. 37

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BATTALION @ GEORGE WASHINGTON BATTALION

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
REHABILITATION FUND INC.

1504 BROADWAY

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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Donald D. Stewart
Paul Strub

- Dear Friends:

The second open membership meeting of the Friends of The Abraham Lincoln Brigade will be held on Wednesday evening September 14 at 8:00 p.m. in the Detroit Room of the Detroit-Leland Hotel. We must remind you that as a member of the Friends it is of the utmost importance that you attend membership meetings.

The program for the meeting will include the showing of the film, 'America's Lafayette', which contains some excellent scenes of the Lincoln Brigade men in action. One of the Volunteers who recently arrived from Spain will speak and the Fall program for the Friends will be discussed.

At this particular time when the men in Spain need our help so badly we must call upon you to do your share in helping them along the road to victory. Please make it a point to attend this meeting and bring your friends.

Sincerely yours,

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE.

Robert Taylor
Exec. Sec'y.

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE

Robert Taylor, Executive Secretary
Elen Jones, Chairman
E. T. Daniels, Organizer

RT:rom
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c 1 o
#28

EXHIBIT No. 38

STUYVESANT 9-4552

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

National Office

112 EAST 19th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

HON. VITO MARCANTONIO, PRESIDENT
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, VICE PRESIDENTANNA DAMON, SECRETARY
ROBERT W. DUNN, TREASURER*Autumn 1939*

Dear Friend:

Now--when democracy is threatened--more than ever before we want to remember those who are serving prison sentences because they exercised constitutional rights--in defense of democracy.

We want to remember hundreds of fatherless children, widows whose husbands died labor's martyrs, women waiting for husbands to be released. The men need cigarettes and newspapers and the knowledge that they're not forgotten.

At Christmas time, the I. L. D. for the last 14 years has, through its Annual Drive, made this remembrance possible. For Christmas time 1939, we want to send stronger greetings into the State penitentiaries and reformatories, into the work houses and chain gangs where men are confined because they fought for labor. At Christmas time 1939, we want to strengthen our aid, which must continue every month throughout the year. These men, women and children depend on continued help from the I. L. D.

We can rejoice that the year 1939 saw many victories for labor defense. Four veteran trade unionist prisoners--Billings, McIney, Schmidt and Becker were among others released through efforts of millions working years. Help us continue this important work.

Please make an generous contribution as possible for labor's freedom.

Very sincerely,

Vito Marcantonio

VITO MARCANTONIO

WLM:q
12/29/39

Virginia C. Ames - Art. M. Antonino - Wm. L. Patterson - Robert W. Dunn - Anna Damon - Stella Adler - Wm. Albertson - George
Anderson - Ben. C. Ayres - Arthur - Rose Barons - Elaine Beck - John E. Bernard - Leon Goldman - Gilberta Connerman - Wendell Chappell -
Bob Davis - J. John P. Davis - Itz A. DeGross - Walter D. Fisher - Robert Fitzgerald - Edward F. Flax - Jesse David O'Connor - Leo
Gullotta - Tracy Gullotta - Stephen Harris - Miss J. C. Guggenheimer - Jessica Henderson - Anneli Herndon - Heiter G. Huntington -
Dok De Jones - Robert J. Kelly - Roy Owen A. Knox - Ismael Krane - Edward Kuntz - Edward Lantz - Yveta Lund - Wm. Mowvich - Louie
F. McClellan - J. B. McManis - Robert Minor - Bruce Minor - Harvey O'Connor - Samuel Orlitzky - Robert Parker - Joseph Pass - Reid
R. Pines - Nathan I. Rothbard - Lita Saenger - Henry Sengstad - Lawrence Stone - Joseph Stull - Lloyd W. Soule - Mrs. Mary Sweren -
Emma Thompson - Karl C. Witham - David M. Kravitz White - Bob Wozniak - Miss Ada Wright - Paul D. Day Wilkerson

EXHIBIT No. 39

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CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN BREWSTER is an American social worker who practices in work with juvenile delinquents. Since 1914 he has been making a study of the problem of crime and delinquency in the Soviet Union, which is published quarterly on this page. He has published papers on the subject both in American journals and in SRE.

Dr. ABOS GIBAL'KA is a Doctor of Science from the University of Prague and is by profession an engineer. He is a veteran of the First World War. His contacts with the Czechoslovak Army in Siberia during the occupation of Russia by the various armies of intervention and it is from them that he learned many of the facts about which he writes.

ALICE EDWARDS PEVNER is a well-known Soviet playwright and actor. Her "Anointed Train" and "Mystery of a Fiat" have been translated into English.

CARLISLE LAMONT is well known as an authority on both internal politics of Soviet life and the foreign policy of the USSR. His most recent work "You Might Like Socialism" published by Modern Age Books, Inc.

WILLIAM MAXWELL is an American journalist who has lived in the Soviet Union and has contributed articles on various aspects of Soviet life and its foreign relations to the Soviet Edition of the New York World. His work in SRE.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER is a writer and past holder of a Guggenheim fellowship who for several years on the staff of "International Literature" in Moscow and has recently become a member of Soviet Russia Today's Editorial Council.

BRUCE THOMAS is an American worker who has lived and worked in the Soviet Union for eight years. He has been a member in good standing for twenty-two years of the International Association of Manufacturers—A. F. of L. and was formerly President of Philadelphia Lodge 157. This is the first of a series of articles that he will write based on his experiences in the USSR.

H. D. WENZEL is the pseudonym of an American journalist and authority on Soviet affairs who has lived in the Soviet Union for several years. In the February issue he wrote "Blackout of Truth" exposing the press distortions and lies about the events in Finland which he now follows up by noting the confessions and belated revisions of the correspondents.

The Results of Your Help

IN our last issue we told you about the hundreds of letters we are receiving every month from our readers, stressing the urgency of reaching as many people as possible with our magazine, to counteract the press blockade against truth about the Soviet Union.

We told you about an offer from one of our readers, who has asked us to withhold his name, to donate \$2,000 to the magazine, if fellow readers, will match it with a second \$2,000.

Your response was swift and generous. Dr. A. Ruthenberg sent in \$20, half for himself, half in memory of his brother, Dr. Nathan Ruthenberg, and assures us that the rank and file readers of the magazine will "overtake and surpass" the \$2,000. J. F. Warner, an old man of 86 from Arizona, sent in \$200 of his \$3400 a month allowance, and calls on all our readers to do so much. A Miss Winsor of New York, picking up our magazine for the first time, sent \$25.00 "to promote our excellent magazine." These are only a few random examples of contributors from Florida to Alaska who have sent large or small amounts for our circulation drive.

Altogether we have received almost \$4,000, which the author of the plan has already matched. That has enabled us to begin our mailing campaign, and new subscriptions are pouring in. But to make the campaign really effective, we must have the remaining \$2,000. That means a thousand more from you, dear readers.

We must finish up the drive in May. We are counting on you to make good on the rest of the amount we need during the next few weeks. Please mail your contribution today!

Circulation Drive Fund
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 52nd St., New York, N. Y.

I enclose \$ for Circulation Drive Fund.

Name

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EXHIBIT No. 40

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NEWS YOU DON'T GET

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**NATIONAL COMMITTEE
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Defense of Political Prisoners

**FOUR LINCOLN BRIGADE VETS
RELEASED FROM ELLIS ISLAND**

**PAUL LIST DEPORTATION HALTED
DATE OF FIFTEEN STILL IN DOUBT**

Arbitration Day, November 11, brought a ray of hope to the weary vets awaiting deportation on Ellis Island when four were released. Rudolph Franchini, who had come to the United States from Italy in 1921 and had lost a leg while helping the Spanish people defend Madrid, Augustin Plaza, born in Ecuador, and Carlos Reol, originally from Mexico, were released on \$500 bond. Alois Lucchi, originally from Switzerland, heard a deportation order changed to an unconditional release.

The most pressing case, that of Paul List, took a slight turn for the better when it was announced that his deportation, scheduled for Saturday, November 12, was postponed for a short time. Having come to this country in 1921, Paul List worked as a seaman up until 1937, when he went to France in order to re-enter on the basis of his wife's American citizenship to legalize his stay in this country. From there, List went to Spain and drove an ambulance for the Loyalist Government. He has proven himself in every way to be a trustworthy and desirable person. The National Committee for People's Rights through its members has vigorously protested against the action of the Department of Labor in the List case, and is urging that List be released immediately and be permitted to join his wife and his child, who is seriously ill with infantile paralysis in a Rochester hospital.

- Louis Adamic
- Sherwood Anderson
- Nathan Asch
- Mrs. George J. Arwell, Jr.
- S. L. M. Barlow
- Hamilton Basso
- Carlotta Basso
- Carlisle Bellamy
- William Rose Bennett
- Walter Lee Bigman
- S. John Block
- J. Edward Bromberg
- Frances Caldwell
- Bennett A. Carl
- John A. Chamberlain
- Winifred Chappell
- Colman K. Chumey
- Lester Cohen
- Sue Covinsky
- Marc Connelly
- Jack Connor
- Helen Copenhaver
- Aaron Coplan
- George S. Coombs
- Mabelle Cowley
- Bruce Crawford
- Kyle Crichton
- Lawrence Cullen
- H. W. E. Dana
- Maurice Deane
- Theodore Deane
- Leonard Deitch
- Guy Edgore
- Sara Harb Field
- Samuel K. Frankel
- Leona Fisher
- Waldo Frank
- Joseph S. Gelder
- Luisa Gilman
- Meyra Goodman
- C. Bartley Gristan
- Paul Green
- Herbert Gregory
- John Hammond
- Earl W. Hanson
- Henry Hart
- Julius Hellman
- Josephine Herbet
- John Herzog
- Greenville Hicks
- Alfred H. Hirsch
- Dorothy Howe
- Magdon Hughes
- William H. Jones
- Matthew Josephson
- Beatrice Kaufman
- George S. Kaufman
- David Kaufman
- Alfred Krayenberg
- Louis Kronenberg
- Joshua Kunitz
- Merrill Lee Lauer
- Robert Morris Lovett
- Grace Lumpkin
- Clarence McKay
- Bruce Mission
- Genevieve E. Morris
- Lewis Mumford
- Henry Newman
- Dr. J. C. Nixon
- Samuel Orlitz
- Margaret Dabors
- William H. O'Brien
- Anna Pechayachar
- Paul Peters
- Annita Purvis
- Bertton Rascoe
- Bill Rogers
- Samuel L. Rockhard
- Edward Sauer
- Andor Schneider
- George Selig
- Paul Selig
- Alison Sinclair
- George Soule
- Isabel Helen Soule
- John L. Spivak
- William Steig
- Bernhard J. Stern
- Donald Ogden Stewart
- Maxwell Stewart
- Earl Stone
- Louise Thompson
- Mary Helen Vorse
- Lynne Ward
- John Wexler
- Water Wilson
- Frances Wivyer
- Charles Erskine Scott Wood
- Hanoch, Yarka
- Lease Zimmich
- GIFFORD A. COCHRAN
Secretary
- ELEANOR WEIRSTOCK
Assistant Secretary

EXHIBIT No. 41

What's on

RATES 18 words, 50c Monday to Saturday, 31 Sunday, 6c additional word
DEADLINE Weekdays, 12 Noon, Sunday Worker, Friday, 12 Noon. Payments must be made in advance or notices will not appear.

BOOK AND MAGAZINE Guild invites you to its Festival-Dance Saturday evening, Nov 13, Trova Hall, 153 W. 84th St. Adm 75c

Bronx

Y D #—PRESENTS Gala Dance! Hot Jazz Band String Quartet Three Red Rogues Entertainment. Adm 25c 3919 Third Ave.

SWING DANCE! Big apple exhibition! All star foot show! Adm 49c. Union Band Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave., Bronx Ausp Harry Meier and Lincoln Friendship Branches, IWO Nov 13th, 8 30 P.M.

Brooklyn

CONCERT AND DANCE! Benefit, Daily Worker Shaw and Elmer, comedians Phil Irvin Baritone and Magda, dancer on the program 381 Rockaway Avenue Brooklyn Ausp Brownsville Community Center

Sunday

PAUL MILLER speaks on the Haymarket Riot Past Election and the Anti-Red Pact 11 W. 18th St Ausp Tom Mooney Br ILD 8 45 P.M.

SIX DAYS man labors 7th relax dance Program Royal Savannahans Orchestra every Sunday Subs 25c 47 E 12th St. Ausp Manha'tan Chorus 8 30 P.M.

FAMOUS STRING QUARTET performs Beethoven, Mendelssohn Singer sings your favorite! Dancing to real Swing!! Adm 25c Downtown Swing Club 4 W 18th St 8 P.M.

FACTS BEHIND Headlines Marxist analysis of this week's news communist! Sub 20c 50 E 17th St, 2nd Fl. Ausp Downtown People's Center 8 30 P.M. promptly

HARLEM SWING CLUB presents Who Who's Swing Stars Meet at the new Big-Cat in person! There's a jam session which has become a Mecca for swing fans and Stars! 4 W 12th St 9 P.M.

COMON CATS! Reunion of Jimmy Dorey, Scott's Quire, Arthur Swing down Rugby YCL 12th St 81st St., Brooklyn 8 30 P.M.

COME TO Opening of new 11-room Bath Beach YCL Home Dancing & Entertainment Refreshments Hatcheck 24 8787 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn Ausp YCL 8 30 P.M.

IT LOOKS as if Pete Cacchione is getting elected! His Williamsburg friends are celebrating at a Bee! Party, starts at 8 30 P.M. at 28 Graham Ave., Brooklyn

Coming

LABOR LAW and Industrial Relations. Lecture series by experts. Law: Lav. including Harry Sawyer, Joseph Brodsky, and others! Begins Monday, Nov 14, 8 40 P.M., at the Workers School, 12th St. Fee \$2.00

WHAT PRICE Chorus McGarthy? We'll tell the world our dances are coming! Be seen! your! Subs 35c 47 E 12th St. 124th St Ausp Nat'l Labor B. C. P. Nov 20 9 P.M.

ANTI-WAR SONGS by the FRONTS four prize winners! Songs of anti-war song writers, including songs of youth and other young people. Chorus Engel Madrigal Singers, 22nd St. Chorus, Freiheit Club, 12th St. Nov 20 at 8 45 P.M.

SCHOOL, 15th St. and 12th St. by City Division, 12th St. Archivist War 8 30 P.M.

CAMP FOR REFUGEE Thanksgiving Eve Nov 22nd 11th St. Hall Swing band 8 30 P.M.

RESERVE NEW YORK by the Reserve New York University Camp 12th St. Ball and Frolic 8 30 P.M.

SANTA CLAUS What's On! Santa Claus is coming to town! 12th St. 8 30 P.M.

EXHIBIT No. 42

Workers School Starts Labor Law Classes Today

The opening class in the series on Labor Law and Industrial Relations will open today at 8:40 P. M. at the Workers School, 35 East 122 St. This will be the first of a series of ten lectures, designed particularly for members of the legal profession, trade union organizers and others engaged in labor activities and planned to be a comprehensive survey of the law as it affects labor organizations.

The course as a whole will be an analysis of the law and will deal with legal rights of labor organizations with reference to collective bargaining, strikes, boycotts and other legal problems. Outstanding labor attorneys actively engaged in this field, will cover the Norris-LaGuardia Act, etc., and the function of such agencies as the National Labor Board and the various State and local bodies. Experienced negotiators will discuss the problems involved in negotiations and contracts. Experts in their field will take up social legislation affecting labor, workmen's compensation, criminal processes, minorities under the law and inner union problems.

The lecturers for this series include Harry Sacher, Joseph R. Brodsky, David Scribner, Abraham Unger, David M. Freeman, Joseph Tauber, Edward Kuntz, Irving Schwab, A. W. Cohen and Frank Schlener.

THE COMMUNIST

place, and more particularly, where we started to concentrate some time ago, we lacked persistency.

While leading hundreds of struggles for the daily demands of the working class we did not succeed (we shall deal with the reason later) in raising the consciousness, especially of the thousands of new members, to our fundamental task, the building of a mass proletarian Party rooted in the factories.

Our laxity in arousing the lower units, the shop nuclei, to the task that they should perform, weakened the persistence in our concentration activities, gave to our efforts at concentration a mechanical form expressed in the phrase "We tried hard but we did not succeed."

Here we must stress again: not that we did not know the method of concentration, but that the great role of concentration in the basic industries was not fully understood by the whole Party.

Certainly we don't lack experiences in concentration work. They are here under our very eyes. Certainly the Party districts of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, New York are rich with them. But the trouble is that they are not studied, consequently, they are not popularized as a means of strengthening the whole Party. We learn very little from the experiences of the Bolshevik Party and other sections of the Communist International; we learn very little from our own experiences.

So we discover already the fundamental reasons that hindered us in the past from building the Party into a mass proletarian Party, and in doing so we indicate also the way to overcome these hindrances.

However, the reasons pointed out are not the only ones. There are still other weaknesses that must be overcome, other problems and tasks to be solved that will enable us to carry out the Open Letter in practice.

These are the problems and tasks closely connected, inter-related and rising out of the process of concentration. Upon their prompt solution depends the tempo in building a mass Party.

These are the problems of strengthening the leadership of the Party as a whole; of developing new cadres and correctly utilizing the old; of building sections and developing section leadership, of developing local leaders in the industrial centers, of collective work from the top down and vice versa, of inner democracy, of discussions which raise the consciousness of the Party toward its tasks, of planned work and control, of cutting down the numerous inner meetings that hinder the concrete mass work, of systematic recruiting, etc., etc.

EXHIBIT No. 44

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THE COMMUNIST

who never hid the fact that he was a Communist, continuously kept his eyes open for possible Party members.

Not underestimating the necessity of recruiting at all times and through all activities, the main attention of the Party must be riveted upon recruiting from decisive basic industries.

At the Fourteenth Plenum the Party set itself, among others, the following tasks: The organization of a firm basis for our Party among the decisive strata of American workers in the most important industrial centers. The Party pledged at this plenum to "overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American workers, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war and to firmly root itself in the decisive industry by means of solid personal contact with the workers."

The above examples show that the Party did not fully understand this central task. The existing shop nuclei in the basic industry did not grow. Ninety percent of those who joined the Party were unemployed, and a very small percentage of the employed workers came through direct activity in and around the factory. An analysis of the membership composition shows that only 3 percent are steel workers, a little above 5 percent miners, not quite 3 percent automobile workers, only 1 percent marine workers, 1.3 percent railroad workers, .3 percent chemical workers.

Only 28 percent of the employed members, or 7 percent of the total membership of the Party, are working in mines or factories employing 500 or more workers.

The Open Letter very sharply states:

"It is idle chatter to talk about the revolutionizing of the working class by the Party unless the Party conquers a firm base for itself among the miners, metal, steel workers, auto, marine and textile workers—it is nothing but phrase-mongering to talk about the building of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions without doing this among the important bodies of workers, in the big factories, in the important industrial sections."

At the Extraordinary Party Conference, the task was set to root the Party in the decisive elements of the working class in the basic industries. Emphasis was again placed on the necessity of concentration and the Conference concretely laid down the plan for the next period. The five concentration districts, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York, were assigned the special task of concentrating on altogether about 50 factories in the steel, mining, marine and automobile industries, besides those specific industries and problems which the districts have (stockyard,

EXHIBIT No. 44—Continued

ORGANIZATION IN LIGHT OF OPEN LETTERS 957

Negro territory, etc.). In these selected plants and sections, the task of the Party is to mobilize the workers for the struggle on wages, improvement of conditions, unemployment insurance, etc., through the energetic, thorough work of agitation, propaganda and organization through the utilization of all available forces and weapons for concentration and struggle. A definite break with the past methods of allowing ourselves to be driven by the course of events is the prerequisite for the assured carrying out of concentration.

It goes without saying that it is our task to place ourselves at the head of every movement which breaks out spontaneously in the country, and to lead such movements, or where the reformist leaders stand at the head of a movement, to work for the building of fighting organs of the masses independent of the bureaucrats, in order to aid the masses in the exposure and replacement of the reformist leaders.

"But unless we tenaciously concentrate our work on the most important industrial centers, we cannot build up a stable Party and revolutionary trade union movement, capable of resisting all blows and persecutions by the bourgeoisie."—Open Letter (Our emphasis.)

The primary task of the whole Party is the building of a strong proletarian base in the big enterprises in these main industrial centers of the country. In order to carry out this primary task, all members of the Party, every leading committee, unit, section, district, and the center, must criticize in the most analytical manner its past activity and approach toward this vital problem. In the process of the preparation for the fulfillment of this basic task, many difficulties will be raised as a justification for our failure to build the Party and revolutionary unions in the large factories. We have to fight all these expressions which hinder our concentration work. The utmost care in the selection of forces, thorough discussion of the situations in the factories and methods of approach to the workers; the most detailed, daily attention and guidance from the higher committees, coordination between union fractions, Party committees and shop nuclei, the fullest utilization of the *Daily Worker* and the language papers, the mobilization of mass organizations, are essentials for the penetration of the selected factories. In connection with the selection of the leadership for the concentration points, the Open Letter states:

"Every Party member and especially every Party functionary must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint, the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must chose its leading bodies."

EXHIBIT No. 45

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EXHIBIT No. 45—Continued

CONCENTRATION ON TRANSPORT

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which they work. If we carry on better work among the 'backward section of the working class', (backward because of certain historical conditions—and there is a big section of working class women in the U. S.) we will be able to develop a broader united front and help therefore to win the majority of the working class in the U. S. A."

Harlem Concentration on Transport

By LOUIS SASS (Harlem)

AFTER our Extraordinary Party Conference, we seriously undertook to carry through the Open Letter and its central principle: concentration. One of the concentration points assigned to us by the District is the city traction, an industry where thousands of American workers, hitherto untouched by our movement, are organized into company unions on the I.R.T. and B.M.T. systems. The task of organizing these workers requires a great deal of activity, skill and concentration. It is very important in organizing city transport in New York to select the proper forces to give daily guidance to the comrades who undertake this task.

In Harlem section we first carefully selected seven comrades, all new Party members, who are American workers, and formed them into a concentration unit. The comrades in this unit were either unemployed or night workers working such hours as made it possible for them to devote considerable time to the shops on which we decided to concentrate.

We had a favorable start. A worker in — shop of the transport system called up the *Daily Worker* and gave some information about the conditions in the shop. We immediately contacted the worker, who was somewhat sympathetic to the Party. Through him we began to build a small group, to be the organizational committee for the union. We had a difficult job at first, for the men in the shop had been disappointed time and again by the A. F. of L. They had the company union, of course, and believed that all unions are detrimental rather than helpful to the workers. The first thing that we had to convince them of was that our main interest is to protect their jobs by careful organizational methods. We told them to approach their most intimate friends, those upon whom they could depend, those whom they had known for years, and organize them into groups of threes and fives, so they would avoid recruiting one who would squeal and thereby destroy organization and endanger the jobs of the men. The men were soon convinced that our organization was a rank-and-file organi-

EXHIBIT No. 45—Continued

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PARTY ORGANIZER

zation interested sincerely in bettering the conditions of the workers and in protecting their jobs.

At the same time the union issued leaflets that were, in the main, written by the men themselves, about the conditions existing in the shop, and how best to remedy these conditions. Our forces in the concentration unit singled out the most class-conscious and active workers. These we approached to join the Party. In the shop we had, by this time, 25 to 30 workers who had signed up with the union. Finally we were successful in recruiting one worker into the Party. We explained a number of things to this worker. He arranged a little gathering at the home of one of his friends at which two workers were present. The section sent a leading comrade down to this gathering, who outlined to the workers the role of the Party. He was successful in convincing them to join the Party, so that we had a nucleus in the shop of three members. From then on we tried to place the leadership and the responsibility in the hands of the Party members on the inside, with the concentration unit members helping to visit contacts, conduct open air meetings, distribute shop papers and Daily Workers at the shop gates.

We have kept to the system of organization mentioned above, namely, the groups. The men in charge of the groups were responsible for the collection of dues, the holding of meetings, etc. and they constitute the leading committee of the shop. At all times, both the union and the section paid the utmost attention to the individuals that comprised the leadership of the shop. We have spent hours in conversation with the comrades and the workers who were genuinely interested in building the organization.

The bosses have done their best to raise the "red scare" and to brand the organization as Communist. This was met squarely. First the C. P. explained what Communism stands for. In the meantime, the union organization pointed out clearly that the union is composed of all workers, among whom there are workers of various affiliations, that the union does not exclude anyone, but welcomes everyone. It was pointed out that the "red scare" is used by the bosses to prevent organization among the men and make them accept the company union. The men accepted the explanations of the union and the leaflets and bulletins issued by the Party nucleus. The union kept growing. A great number of the workers enrolled were activated. Of course, all sorts of schemes were invented to divert the attention of the men from real organization and struggle. First a self-appointed shop-committee sprang into existence, with quite an influence among the men, promising things such as betterment of conditions, shorter hours, etc. They did not fulfill their promises and the union was quick in discredit-

CONCENTRATION ON TRANSPORT

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ing the group. The pension plan was next introduced by the company. Our union took up this question, analyzed it carefully and found it to be very detrimental to the men. We decided to fight it. A very careful expose of this plan resulted in its rejection on the part of the workers. Hundreds began to write in to the company, demanding that their names be taken off the pension list. The authority and standing of the union as a result of this careful and correctly waged struggle increased considerably.

However, there were still some illusions among the men as to the possibility of turning the company union into a fighting body, while the members of our union have been in favor of deserting the company union completely as something that cannot be utilized for strengthening organization in the shop. Our stand on the question was that they should remain inside of the company union for the present, that they should participate in the elections, and that they should utilize the company union as the legal expression of the sentiment of the workers in the shop.

The elections, which were not held at all but were merely appointments made by the company, exposed the character of the company union completely. This was particularly demonstrated with the acceptance by the delegates of the new agreement which has failed to give back the promised 10 per cent wage-cut taken from the men two years ago. At the company union meeting the agreement was rejected by the men. In the meantime, this opportunity was seized upon to begin to bring the Transport Workers Union into the open. The first open meeting of the union was called with the most important people in the shop who were members of the union. It was a highly successful meeting. There it was decided to call another meeting of all of the union members in the shop. The organization of this meeting was the responsibility of those present.

In the meantime, another company union meeting was called and the question of the Transport Workers Union was openly raised by the workers. They voted non-confidence in the delegates of the company union and told them plainly that if they wanted to stick with the workers they had better get into the only union that really represents the interests of the men, and is in a position to fight the company for better conditions. They also succeeded in electing a delegate to the Washington Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance from the company union local. The sending of the delegate, however, was sabotaged by the central delegates council. All of these things served to arouse the anger of the workers. Soon after this company union meeting, the second meeting of the rank-and-file union at the shop was called. It was a meeting of several hundred workers—all union men. At this meeting a decision

EXHIBIT No. 45—Continued

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PARTY ORGANIZER

was made to call a general meeting of the shop. In this period we continuously sold the Daily Worker, and three numbers of the Party shop paper and recruited additional members into the shop nucleus. Our position in this shop today is quite stable. All attempts of the company to destroy the organization of the men have so far failed. Stool pigeons were exposed; the "red scare" was met; an open union organization was established.

We have a number of important shortcomings, such as the irregularity of the shop paper, our inability to get some very important workers into the unit, the failure to sell the Daily in great numbers every day at the gate, and the failure to raise sharply some very important questions of the union. In this connection we have made some beginnings. We have been able to raise the Negro question at leading committee meetings, but that is as far as we have gone. Our concentration unit as well as the United Negroes have not yet undertaken a broad campaign for the organization of Negroes into the union; also the demands for Negro rights are yet too general. However, steps are definitely being taken by the section and the union to overcome and correct these weaknesses.

During the entire process of organization there has been careful and planned united activity between the section and the union. This is largely responsible for the results of this achievement of our section, we learn the importance of: (1) the proper selection of forces; (2) the very careful projection of an organizational drive; (3) the importance of continuous guidance and supervision by the leading committees of the Party; and (4) most important of all, the importance of applying the guiding principle of the Open Letter, that is, concentration.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of old society. Without an iron party hardened in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all the honest elements of the class, without a party capable of keeping in touch with the sentiments of the masses and influencing them, it is impossible successfully to conduct such a struggle". Lenin

HOW AND WHERE TO CONCENTRATE

Excerpts from Speech of Charles Krumbin, N. Y. District Organizer

CONCENTRATION in connection with mass work is the beginning of the solution of our problems. Of course, we cannot underestimate the difficulties that we will have in breaking with our past methods. We can see from where we are entrenched in New York that we have never taken concentration seriously. We have worked hard, being everywhere and therefore generally being nowhere. We must understand that to the extent that we are successful in gaining important fields, we will have tremendous effect on other fields that we do not concentrate on. That is a point which must be stressed.

Now in regard to concentration on the industries that are important: Marine first and foremost for New York City. New York City is the biggest port in the world. It is not only a question here of the number of workers in the industry; the political importance must be seen by us. And fighting the war danger does not mean for us only mass meetings. It means work in the basic industries that are so close to war, industries that will be decisive in war.

Our Approach in the Past

What has been our approach in the past? We take a comrade, assign him to the waterfront and consider the problem solved. But the real problem is to break down the mechanical separation of Party and mass work, mobilizing the Party members on the waterfront so that we multiply the efforts of any specialist we send down.

Next, metal. Metal is very important for us. Although the comrades in the Metal Workers Industrial Union have done good work, they have not yet done any important concentration. For example, we had a comrade in Brooklyn where a section of this basic industry is located, and because of strikes in little shops here and there that came up we pulled him out, kept him out for four or five weeks, and by the time he returned those we had worked with had no further confidence in us. If we mean concentration seriously, then we must see that our comrades stay put.

Concentrate on Transportation

Next on concentration for New York: railroad. On this we have done practically nothing, although the issues are there for us to mobilize the railroad workers.

MARINE

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Another point I think we should consider for concentration is city transport. Transport in all big cities plays a very important political role. I think it is a field that we must concentrate on. We have nothing there yet. In addition to concentrating on transport we can use the election campaign that we are now entering to put forward the proper issues, connecting the question of low fare, as it affects the workers generally, with the conditions of the transport workers.

Now I want to state that on the question of concentration the District leadership must set the pace. Each and every one of us on the staff must give his major attention to a point of concentration. I don't mean the whole industry; I mean picking out certain points of concentration within the industries. We must set the pace.

We Must Guide the Sections

Section leadership: we have got to give very serious consideration to this. What is the situation today in our district? Today we find a flow from the sections to the District—the section organizers come in, we take up problems with them, they go back to the section. This is not the way to develop section leadership. Systematically, regularly, we must go down to the section committee, take up their problems with them, so that the whole section leadership is developed, in place of bringing one comrade into the center and developing only him as a result. Furthermore, we must immediately review our entire leadership, our entire activity in the sections; see who is engaged in mass work and bring these comrades into the section leadership. On the other hand, some of the comrades now in the leadership must get into mass work, and this must be done simultaneously.

Unemployed Members Responsible for Unemployed Work

What do we find in the unemployed situation? I venture to say that the percentage of unemployed in the Party is greater, because of the victimization, etc., than it is in the mass as a whole, yet not over 10 percent of our unemployed comrades participate in unemployed work. Our unemployed comrades do not consider unemployed work as their main field of work. They are not working, they are off all day; the unemployed likewise are not working and are off all day. The opportunities are tremendous and we must see to it that every unemployed comrade has as his main task the unemployed work.

The same applies, of course, to other fields. We have a situation in the trade unions where less than 50 percent of our comrades participate in the fractions and less than 10 percent are active in the trade unions.

EXHIBIT No. 47

DISTRICT TWO

CONTROL TASKS ADOPTED AT ENLARGED
DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING MARCH 8, 1936.

Wissman

Our Party in the New York District can point to splendid achievements in our work during the past year. During this period, our Party made splendid headway in the trade union field. With some minor exceptions, most of the trade unions of the T.U.U.L. are merged with the A.F.L. In almost all cases our comrades were received with open arms by the masses of organized workers in the A.F.L. unions. At the present time, while all are not functioning perfectly, we have nevertheless, some 300 fractions in the trade unions, and in about 150 trade unions our Party comrades are either fully or partially in the leadership of these unions.

Especially did we make headway in the trade union field of the concentration industries, such as Marine, where the influence of our Party was extended considerably, and the rank and file movement is developing most rapidly; in Fracture, where the Union, built and lead by our comrades has grown to the strength of 5,000 members, and now being in the A.F.L., stands out as the only trade union recognized by the workers in the entire industry. The same thing holds true in Railroad, Heavy Metal, etc.

In Harlem, our Party can record some real achievements in developing the united front around the specific issues of the Negro masses. Harlem at this time, stands out as the model section for real mass work. Many sections of the Negro population were won over by our Party through its correct application of the line of the Party for the united front in struggle against discrimination of the Negro masses, and against the attack on the Ethiopian people.

We succeeded in building up the Party from a membership of 9,100 a year ago to about 12,500 at present. Our shop nuclei grew from 162 to some 285.

It is necessary, however, to point out that while we made headway in the trade union field, and in mass work generally, through the correct application of the line of the Party in the struggle for immediate needs of the masses, and against war and fascism, that due to the pressure of manifold tasks of the Party during this period, we neglected to a great extent our concentration of building the Party in the basic industries where these achievements were obtained.

The growth of the shop nuclei are in the main in the light industry and among the white collar and professional workers. The increase in membership is also from among the light industry, white collar and professional workers. In the basic industries, the growth of the Party is negligible.

With the exception of heavy metal and power, the control tasks adopted at the February, 1935 Conference, for the building of shop nuclei, for the increase in the circulation of the Daily Worker, etc., have not been fulfilled.

While doing such splendid work among the Negro people in Harlem, we did not sufficiently build the Party as a result of this work. Especially must we stress our failure to develop the struggle for Negro rights, against discrimination on a District wide scale, outside of Harlem, and bringing the Negro masses into our Party. In addition to Harlem, Section 12, stands out as the only section paying attention to this work. In all other sections, we cannot mark any headway, especially in building the Party among the Negro masses.

EXHIBIT No. 48

Daily Worker, May 1, 1934

Day Two - T. U.

The Taxi Strike As Seen By A New York Transport Worker

Transit Workers Are Fighting Against Co. Unions, Low Wages

By a secretary of the Transport Workers Union

As a result of New York taxi drivers on Feb. 2 against increasing conditions. Their earnings were low, their hours were long. They had to contend with the company unions and the black list of taxi drivers which kept taxis off the streets of the city.

But through the machinations of Norman Thomas, the priest; Mr. Peckin, the Socialist judge; Mr. LaGuardia, the would-be Mussolini; Mr. Ernst, Mr. LaGuardia's advisor, and Mrs. Berwick, the N. R. A. agent, the taxi drivers were forced back to work.

What else did the T. U. C. take to prepare for the next taxi strike? Did the T. U. C. continue to organize the transport workers in order to strengthen the central tax union? No, it did not. Instead the T. U. C. took away their organizer and imprisoned him in the city prison, leaving the subway workers to take care of themselves.

So when the taxi drivers again went on strike, early in March, the transport workers, having been badly neglected since January, were powerless to help and support the taxi drivers in their fight against company unions.

Sitting On Volcano

That the traction workers of New York are ready to fight one can see from the actions of the men in the 14th St. shop of the I. R. T. were they in open defiance of the company union and at the danger of losing their own jobs, took steps to save the company in transit. Many who had been fired.

If responsible comrades would have taken hold of the transport workers and made a strenuous, systematic campaign for the organization of the subway workers, with the solid support of the T. U. C. the cost of the taxi strike would have been different.

The threat of a city-wide transport strike in support of the taxi drivers and for one basic demand, the abolition of company unions, might and probably would have brought the taxi drivers and their friends to the realization that they no longer had to fight the workers the way they have been doing all of these years.

But whenever complaint was made about the lack of an organizer, the answer invariably would be the same: "We are short of funds." That was the only satisfaction that could be gotten.

EXHIBIT No. 48—Continued

Must spare Organizers

Comrades organizers could be spared in the case of editorial, long programs and the class struggle. Editors could not be spared for the education of workers in light of the case notebook shows. They must spare furniture and mattress makers. If all the workers in the case were sent for good measure to Ben Gold for six weeks, they would go on strike for six weeks in New York City would require more or less the same.

But the transit workers of New York would strike for six hours a day for the whole city. The life of the whole city would be upside down. With a little tactical application of the case, the taxi strike might have been turned into a gigantic battle of New York transit workers against the Wall Street bankers, a battle the like of which New York has never seen, and which would knock a number of bricks off the structural structure. But for this the comrades were short of forces.

In its relation with the subway workers, the T.U.C. to be fair, has consistently acted the same policy. Organizers would be assigned and then when they became acquainted with the workers, they would be withdrawn and replaced by new organizers, who in due time would also be withdrawn. Organizers have come and organizers have gone and in the meantime whatever progress has been made was completely retarded at each withdrawal.

At times even to get leaflets out seemed to be quite a proposition. Distribution in general is a hard job, especially so in bad weather. There was no serious attempt of complete distribution in the transit lines, except in one section, where some comrades did particular good work.

Hit and Miss

But all in all it has been a hit and miss affair, and it now surely is time for the workers to know they have the right to know whether they can continue to expect to receive this sort of leadership from the T.U.C. If this will be the method the comrades use to prove that they are the vanguard of the working class, then there can be no serious disagreement with them, except they'll be the vanguard of the rear end.

The duties of the T.U.C. are clear. Good organizers must be put to work to organize the transit workers in the shortest possible time. So the next time the workers decide to take the offensive against the bosses' unions and for their own rank and file unions, they will be fully prepared to battle to a victorious conclusion.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Trade Union Unity Council fully accepts the correct criticism made by the secretary of the B.M.T. section of the Transport Workers' Union. No doubt we failed to correctly appreciate the importance of organizing the transport workers of New York City, and allowed chance and whimsy of organizers assigned to this work. Of course it must be emphasized that it is much easier to find the

necessary forces for the light industries and that not any organizer would do for this work.

Recently a change has been made for the better, as a result of which we are sure work among subway workers will be carried on in a systematic and consistent manner. The above letter has been helpful in affecting this change.

ANDREW C. ROSS,
Secretary T. U. C.

EXHIBIT No. 49

Finally, our Party comrades who are active trade union workers must be convinced that they can find the way to bringing themselves forward boldly. Where this has been done, there have been good results.

We still have tendencies among some leading comrades, especially the comrades who are actively building the trade unions, to be too selective in recruiting of people into the Party. This very correct idea of recruiting key people is being vulgarized, so that any ordinary worker is considered as of no value. This question of bending over the other way must be corrected, so that we may really create a Party with substantial foundations.

Organization Brings Results

By ROSE WORTIS

I AGREE with the comrades who say that the reason our Party does not grow faster is not because of the objective difficulties, but because of insufficient attention to the work.

In transport, we have a unit which has been in existence for a year and half, but the membership of the unit is stationary although the Party members in this unit are among the foremost builders of the union.

In another unit in a power house, which started with only one comrade, the unit in a short time grew to five. The members in this unit helped to carry through the first sit-down strike in the city. As a result of this good work, the unit today has grown to a membership of fourteen, and at a recent meeting the comrades pledged themselves to recruit another twenty members by July 30.

We have a similar situation in the shipyards. In one shipyard where a strike is now in progress, the comrades are selling five to ten copies of the *Daily Worker*. They

EXHIBIT No. 49—Continued

said that more could not be sold because of the "Red" scare. In another yard, where the same type of workers are employed, comrades are selling from 800 to 1,000 copies of the *Daily Worker*. This shows that it is not the difficulties of the "Red" scare, but the kind of work we are doing, the kind of organization we have, that determines the failure or success of our work.

A word on fluctuation. We have this kind of a situation in the Party: We follow up a sympathizer for months, visit him at his home, become friendly, etc. But the moment he is recruited, we pay no more attention to him, and the consequence is that many of the new comrades drop out. Especially is that true of the new type we are recruiting in our district. We have a sort of business relation with them. For example, we have Irish workers. They come to a meeting and after the meeting they go back to their Irish circles, to an atmosphere removed from our Party; and we remain among ourselves. This is wrong.

In addition to the formal meetings, we should begin to give attention to meeting more frequently with these comrades, to mingle with them socially. This will help to stop fluctuation. The assigning of our best comrades for the personal guidance of new comrades should be seriously considered in our district. By doing this, we shall be able to keep those we recruit and to increase recruiting.

EXHIBIT No. 50

"The Daily Worker Gave Me the First Break"

By J., New York

IN TRANSPORTATION we have a difficult task. Ninety per cent of the workers are Irish. However in 1934 we had four members in the industry, and now we have a unit in every shop in transportation. The biggest problem in transportation is Red-baiting. There is the Catholic Church which sends its priests into the precincts to help in the Red-baiting, and at the present time, they are forming every type of organization—the Holy Name, the Knights of Columbus, etc.

Communists have been in the front ranks in building the transportation union. But the most serious shortcoming is that there are not yet enough Communists among the transportation workers to fight this Red-baiting the way it's got to be fought.

I myself recruited 20 members. I think the *Daily Worker* gave me the first break, especially the *Sunday Worker*. I gave them out to some of the men, and after a while I was asked why I did not bring them the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* regularly. I did so, and I also got pamphlets to them, especially the one by our great revolutionary Irishman, James Connolly.

I have no more to say. I am not a speaker. The only thing I do is carry on the truth.

EXHIBIT 51

[From the Transport Workers Bulletin, May 1938, p. 7]

JAMES CONNOLLY—HE GAVE HIS LIFE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL FREEDOM

"They carried him from his bed in a stretcher to the ambulance and drove him to Kilmainham Jail. They carried the stretcher from the ambulance to the jail yard. They put him in a chair. . . . He was very brave and cool. . . . I asked him: 'Will you pray for the men who are about to shoot you?' and he answered: 'I will say a prayer for all brave men who do their duty.' . . . and then they shot him."

James Connolly was perhaps the greatest labor leader who ever stepped into the turbulent pages of Irish History. All of his busy life was devoted to the organization and uplifting of the industrial underdog, the exploited wage slave and the forgotten man of Ireland. The anniversary of his execution by the British crown forces after the 1936 rising, is observed in labor circles throughout the world.

Born in Clones, County Monaghan, Ireland, in 1870 of poor parents, Connolly spent the first ten years of his life in Ulster. From there he went to Glasgow, Scotland, where at the age of eleven or thereabouts, he secured a job in a bakery shop. After a ten year struggle for existence in this city, he returned to Dublin which was to be the main scene of activities from then on.

IMMORTAL WRITINGS

Always studiously inclined and a great lover of books, Connolly, although he was unable to afford a formal education, was nevertheless able to make speeches and write extensive articles after a few years in the schools of toil and experience. The fruit of his studies in his "Labor in Irish History," the classic in its field. Other powerful books on labor are his "Reconquest of Ireland" and "Labor, Nationality and Religion."

All of Connolly's voluminous writings emphasize the necessity and value of industrial unionism as the form of association to be adopted by all classes of workers in their battle for better conditions. In his lectures in Dublin, Belfast and Cork, and during his short visit to America in 1903, he constantly reiterated the advantages of all the workers in a given industry being united into one comprehensive union.

In 1910 James Connolly became an early member and active organizer of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in Dublin. He became Secretary to the Transport Workers and spent most of his working hours to help wield it into a powerful and militant body.

LEADS TRANSPORT WORKERS

The progress of Connolly and his co-workers in organizing the men in the Dublin industries, and the success of the new gospel of industrial unions began to alarm the Dublin employers, and in 1913 the latter combined to stage one of the longest and most tragic lock-outs in labor history. The attitude and intentions of the employers during this eight-month lockout can best be described by quoting from George Russell's famous letter to them: "You determined deliberately, and in cold anger, to starve out one third of the population of this city, to break the manhood of the men by the sight of the suffering of their wives and the hunger of their children. . . . It remained for the twentieth century and the capital city of Ireland to see an oligarchy of four hundred masters deciding openly on starving one hundred thousand people, and refusing to consider any solution except that fixed by their pride. . . ." And, we may add, their greed.

The immediate results of the lock-out struggle were indecisive. Connolly viewed it as a "drawn battle." While the employers did not recognize the Union, they were compelled to recognize the individual members who remained loyal to it, and they clung to their "right" to hire free laborers, or scabs. The most enduring result of the lock-out was a purifying and regeneration of the Irish labor movement, and an even more intensive organizational activity which in the ensuing years were finally to win for the Transport Union recognition from the employers and its permanent establishment as a powerful organization.

The outbreak of the World War found Ireland's foremost labor champion busily engaged organizing and rebuilding the workers' morale after the struggle of 1913. Leading the harassed workers, editing a labor paper, helping the cause of women and hungry children, engaged in building up the Citizen Army, fighting the obstacles constantly placed in his path by government officials, Connolly found more than plenty of hard work to accomplish.

DIED FOR LIBERTY

Connolly's attitude towards the European catastrophe was epitomized in the big sign he had nailed up outside the historic Liberty Hall. The sign was taken down a few days later by British military authorities and no wonder, for it read, "We serve neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland." From 1914 onward, Connolly was one of the prime movers in the movement which was to culminate in the heroic insurrection of Easter Week, in May, 1916.

Connolly's task on that memorable Easter Monday was to take over and hold the General Post Office in Dublin, and this building, under the shadow of the Nelson Monument, was the scene of a gallant but hopeless fight that lasted from Monday until Friday.

Connolly was under no illusions as to the success of the fight. "We are going out to be slaughtered," he had remarked, during the week previous to the rising. He did believe, however, and subsequent history proves he was right, that a national and labor spirit would arise in his country, and that instead of just a few realists like himself, and a few idealists like Patrick Pearse, there would be a whole people to fight the cause of economic and national freedom.

EXHIBIT No. 52

[From the Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, March 17, 1938, p. 5]

MIKE QUILL URGES IRISH TO HONOR ST. PATRICK BY RALLYING FOR ANTI-FASCIST UNITY IN U. S.

By Edward McSorley

New York's Irish and Irish American's march today to honor the "glorious Apostle and dear Saint of our isle upon whom the poor children bestow a sweet smile."

And where, asks Michael J. Quill, City Councilman and International president of the Transport Workers Union, will they go when they leave Fifth Ave.; when they leave St. Patrick's Cathedral, where His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes will review the thousands of marchers?

"They go back where they came from," says Councilman Quill, "back to the slums of the West Side, East Side and the Bronx. They'll go back to the lines of the unemployed. Their brief hour on Fifth Avenue will be over for another year."

Councilman Quill, Kerryman who fought in the ranks of the Irish Republican Army and who has been fighting the battles of the transport workers in New York, will be marching. He will be among the members of the City Council as the Board of Aldermen did before it, which turned out each year to pay tribute to the patron Saint of the Irish people, Irish and American-born both.

ST. PATRICK A PEOPLE'S SAINT

"St. Patrick," says Quill, "is a people's saint. He preached to the people of Ireland and it is the people of Ireland and those of Irish blood in this country who honor him today."

"For many years in New York," he said, "the Irish people have had their half-a-day on Fifth Avenue. They turned out in great force to honor St. Patrick. Dearer than any of the other saints to the Irish people St. Patrick is honored in New York as he is in probably no other city in the world.

"It was the pennies, nickels and dimes of the Irish immigrant which went into the building of the cathedral on Fifth Ave. in honor of his name. They who had little to give are they who built the cathedral, undoubtedly one of the finest churches in New York.

"St. Patrick's Day this year," Quill said, "finds the Catholic people of Germany, Austria and in many parts of Spain writhing under the crushing heel of Fascism.

APPEALS TO CATHOLIC YOUTH

"It is a day on which in America we must appeal to the Catholic youth here to realize that it is only their unity with the working class and student youth that they will prevent the spread of fascism to this country.

"It is a day on which to warn them that the democracy on which the Catholic Church can live in the United States today can be preserved and extended only if they who form a great and important section of that democracy, are ready to unite with the rest of the youth of the country.

"We have seen in Germany that the Nazis first directed their religious attacks against Jews. It didn't take long for them to try to crush the Protestant Church and the indignities to which the Catholic priesthood has been subjected under Hitler have been almost without parallel. How many hundreds of priests and monks have been arrested in the Nazi campaign to smash the church: How many nuns have been forced to flee the borders of the Saar and other parts of Germany.

"Catholics the world over will never forget that it was Hitler's Nazi war-planes which bombed Guernica, the Holy City of that devout Catholic people, the Basques and blasted it off to a shambles.

"Today the mailed fist of fascism is tightening its grip on Austria. It is again first the Jews who are subjected to the lash and the concentration camp. But just as surely as it happened in Germany, the Catholics will not be long after them. Already von Shirach, the Nazi youth leader, has begun his confiscation of Catholic property, already the Catholic organizations have begun to be attacked."

Quill paid tribute to the Irish-American trade union leaders of past years who, like Tom Mooney, fought to build a progressive trade union movement in the United States.

"These men were fighting the same fight," he said, "that Irish-American Catholics today, like John Brophy of the CIO, Francis Gorman of the textile workers and my friend Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union are fighting today.

"While the Irish Catholics of New York line Fifth Ave. today to watch the parade of their own thousands who honor St. Patrick their own democracy is being threatened by the Tory Liberty League forces of reaction in this country."

Quill bitterly assailed the Tammany politicians who gave the Irish Fifth Ave. for a half day on the 17th of March and forgot about them for the rest of the year until the time came around again to get their votes.

NOTHING SACRED TO TAMMANY

"Nothing is sacred to Tammany," he declared, "St. Patrick or any other saint. Tammany has been in the habit for many years of marching up Fifth Ave. in the name of the Irish and Irish-American people of New York.

"Fifth Ave. was Irish for an afternoon. Then back the paraders went to their bad housing, to the firetraps, the sunless tenements. Back they went for another year. And Tammany made the housing laws that kept them in the slums. Tammany put its silk hat and its shamrocks away for another year.

"When election day came around, though, Tammany was on the job again. Out after the votes of the Irish to whom they had given the use of Fifth Ave. on St. Patrick's Day.

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

"The Irish proudly march up Fifth Ave. today in honor of the man of the people, St. Patrick, whose day they celebrate. A man of the people as was He in whose name he spoke. One of their own people.

"They will proudly pass in review at the great cathedral they built in his name.

"When they go back where they came from, back to the slums and the relief stations, and that's where many of them will go, as they have been going year after long year, they will go with a new determination.

WILL FIGHT FOR UNITY

"They won't wait for Tammany to come around on Election Day with promises. They will go back to wipe out those slums. They will know that to wipe out these slums they will have to unite. They will have to unite not only their own ranks, but the ranks of all the people. And the unity of the Catholic, the Jew and the Protestant will be as close as the three leaves of the shamrock that St. Patrick held in his hand when he preached to the people of Ireland."

JAMES CONNOLLY

James Connolly, leader of the Irish Transport Workers Union and Commandant-in-chief of the Citizens' Army, gathered his forces on St. Patrick's Day, 1916, for the last "test mobilization" before he led them into the streets on Easter Monday for the first armed uprising against the imperialist war of 1914-1918.

The rising began on April 24 and by April 29, the gallant bands, hopelessly outnumbered, had been forced to surrender. On May 12 Connolly was taken on a stretcher to Kilmainham Prison. He had been wounded in the legs and was unable to walk. At dawn British soldiers carried him into the yard and lifted him into a chair facing the firing squad.

Connolly, who had spent several years in America as a labor organizer, during which time he published a paper, "The Harp," was the author of several books and pamphlets on the Irish question. Among them are "Labor in Irish History," "The Reconquest of Ireland," "The Axe to the Root," "Erin's Hope: The End and The Means," and "Labor Nationality and Religion."

7TH DIVISION—continued

- e. Retail Stands.
- f. Retail Drug.
- g. Radio Sporting Goods.
- h. Retail Paint and Hardware.
- i. Other Clerks' Locals.

8TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:00 P. M.—53rd St., between 8th and 9th Aves.
Miscellaneous Unions.

- a. United American Artists.
- b. United Association Plumbers, Auxiliary No. 463.
- c. Electrical Workers, AFL.
- d. Glass and China Decorators.
- e. United Beauty Culturists.
- f. United Cigar Workers.
- g. United Mine Workers.
- h. United Paper Workers.
- i. Paper Box Makers.
- j. Window Trimmers.
- k. Iron and Steel Workers.
- l. Printing Trades.
- m. Butchers.
- n. Domestic Workers.
- o. Other miscellaneous Unions and Trade Union Groups.

9TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:30 P. M.—53rd St., between 9th and 10th Aves.

- Political Organizations.
- a. Communist Party.
- b. Young Communist League.

10TH DIVISION

Assemble 2:30 P. M.—53rd St., between 10th and 11th Aves.
Veterans Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

11TH DIVISION

Assemble 3:00 P. M.—39th St., between 9th and 10th Aves.
Professional and Office.

- a. Teachers.
- b. Psychologists League.
- c. Lawyers.
- d. Architects and Engineers.
- e. Advertising Guild.
- f. Social Service Workers.
- g. Office Workers.
- h. Photographers.
- i. Newspapermen.
- j. Cultural Workers.
- k. New Theatre League.
- l. Musicians.
- m. All other Professional Workers.

13TH DIVISION

Assemble 3:45 P. M.—38th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

- Youth Organizations.
- a. Adult Students Union.
- b. Adult Educational Student League.
- c. Alumni Hebrew Nat'l Orphan Asylum.
- d. Vanguard Community Center.
- e. Youth Council (Bronx House).
- f. Young American Artists.
- g. Other Youth Organizations.

14TH DIVISION

Assemble 4:00 P. M.—38th St., between 9th and 11th Aves.

- Fraternal Organizations.
- a. International Workers Order.
- b. Italian May Day Committee.
- c. United Ukrainian Organizations.
- d. Russian May Day Committee.
- e. American Friends of the Soviet Union.
- f. Workmen's Circle Branches.
- g. Jewish Lathers' Relief Society.
- h. Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.
- i. German Organizations.
 1. Federation German American Clubs.
 2. German American Relief Committee.
 3. Deutscher-Arbeiter Club, Inc.
 4. Arbeiter Saengenchor.
 5. Nature Friends.
 6. Other German Organizations.

15TH DIVISION

Assemble 4:30 P. M.—37th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.
Peace, Relief, Civil Rights.

- a. American League for Peace and Democracy.
- b. International Labor Defense.
- c. Polish Patronati.
- d. Icor.
- e. American Friends of the Chinese People.
- f. Chinese Organizations.
- g. Japanese Organizations.
- h. Korean Organizations.
- i. Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
- j. Spanish Organizations.
 1. Club Obrero Espanol.
 2. Comites Femeninos Unidos.
 3. Comite Pro-Democracia Espanola.
 4. Grupo Mexico.
 5. Other Spanish Organizations.

16TH DIVISION

Assemble 5:00 P. M.—37th St., between 9th and 11th Aves.
Language and Cultural Organizations.
(With the exception of I. W. O. language branches marching in the 14th Division).

- a. Freiheit Gezangs Ferein.
- b. Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra.
- c. Lithuanian Organizations.
- d. Greek Workers Club.
- e. Bulgarian Macedonian Club.
- f. Croatian-American Singing Society.
- g. Serbian Workers Club.
- h. Finnish Organizations.
- i. Armenian Organizations.
- j. Estonian Workers Club.

17TH DIVISION

Assemble 5:30 P. M.—36th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.

Tenants, Civic and Miscellaneous Organizations.

- a. Sign Writers.
- b. Government Employees.
- c. WPA Research and Clerical Workers.
- d. Amalgamated Plumbers.
- e. City-Wide Tenants Council.
- f. Yorkville Tenants League.
- g. Citizens Civic Affairs Committee.
- h. East New York Community Center.
- i. East Side Dramatic Group.
- j. American Artist School.
- k. Hamilton Heights Good Neighbors.
- l. Middle Bronx Workers Center.
- m. Putnam Park Colony.
- n. Workers Fellowship of Ethical Culture.
- o. Parent-Teacher Association.
- p. Jedevisto Singing Society.
- q. Latei Relief Society.

EXHIBIT No. 55

THE SAME HOUSE, BUT TWO DOORS



EXHIBIT No. 56

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1933

THE SAME HOUSE, BUT TWO DOORS

—By Burdette



EXHIBIT No. 57

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL
of Greater New York

INCORPORATED
JULY 15, 1933
OFFICE: 117 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

PULITZER BUILDING [REMOVED] NEW YORK

3

June 15, 1939

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Mr. William Harmon,
3163 Fulton Street,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Harmon:-

Complying with the request contained in your letter of June 4th, I hereby impart to you the following information:-

The Prompt Press, now located at 117 Fourth Avenue, has been the lessee of Label 209 since 1933. The Printing Trades Blue Book gives the list of officers for 1939 as follows: Frank Thistleton, president; Boris Cohen, secretary-treasurer and buyer.

The International Newspaper Printing Co., 197 East Fourth Street, has been the lessee of Label 401 since 1933. Do not know officers in 1934. Officers for 1939 follow: Tully Salvo, president and buyer; Joseph Riffice, secretary; Jules Ligeti, treasurer.

Owner of Waldorf Press, 30 West 15th Street, lessee of Label 426; Paul Lerman, buyer, and Cecil B. Fishbein.

Regretting that I cannot comply with your request in full, I am


Fraternally yours,

Vincent Denis
President.

APSAU
20940

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REQUEST THIS LABEL



ON YOUR PRINTING

Affiliated Unions

	UNION
BOOKBINDERS	NO. 29
BOOKBINDERS	NO. 43
BOOKBINDERS	NO. 66
ELECTROTYPE	NO. 100
PAICERS	NO. 6
NEWSPAPER PRINTING PRESSMEN	NO. 2
PAPER CUTTERS AND BOOKBINDERS	NO. 119
PAPER HANDLERS	NO. 1
PAPER RULERS	NO. 9
PHOTO ENGRAVERS	NO. 1
PRESS ASSISTANTS	NO. 23
PRESSMEN	NO. 61
STENOGRAPHERS	NO. 1
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 4
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 7
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 83
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 131
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 157
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 440
TYPOGRAPHICAL	NO. 817

EXHIBIT No. 58

HATHAWAY USES CAPITALIST DODGE

Woman Discovers Daily Worker's Assets Have Been Assigned

Capitalist devices are duck soup to the Communists.

So, at least, it would appear from an affidavit filed in Brooklyn Supreme Court today by Mrs. Edith Liggett, who has been trying without marked success to collect a \$2,672 libel judgment from the Daily Worker.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Communist newspaper, and the Comprodaily Publishing Company were also made liable under the judgment. Last week Mrs. Liggett had Hathaway thrown into civil jail for several days—without getting any money from him, however—and now, she says, the Comprodaily Publishing Company has disappeared for all practical purposes.

All its assets were assigned away between May 22 and June 1, her affidavit said, and subsequently popped up under the newly organized Daily Publishing Company, against which she now has no claim. Justice Brennan granted permission for her to sue the new publishing entity as a "poor person," paying court costs out of what she collects, if anything.

Here's how she says it happened.

The Comprodaily Publishing Company assigned to the new Daily Publishing Company in consideration of payment of less than \$1,000 in back wages, the names of the Daily Worker, Sunday Worker and the Progressive Weekly.

Tangle of Assignments

Accounts and debts receivable of the Comprodaily company were assigned to the F & D Printing Company for debts owed it, and the printing company then assigned them to the Daily Publishing Company for assuming the Comprodaily Company's debts and obligations.

The Prompt Press, which had a \$2,000 judgment against the Comprodaily company, obtained its furniture and fixtures at a sheriff's sale, and now leases them to the new Daily Publishing Company for \$50 a month.

And so, Mrs. Liggett contended, the Daily Publishing Company now has in effect taken over possession of the Comprodaily Company, and she has been "mulcted" out of the collection of her judgment.

Mrs. Liggett, widow of Walter Liggett, Minneapolis editor killed by gangsters four years ago, said in her affidavit that she has less than \$100 and supports herself and two children on approximately \$30 a week earned by writing fiction for pulp paper magazines.

EXHIBIT No. 59

TRANSPORT WORKERS BULLETIN

STREET RAILWAYS IRT IND. SM BMT BUS LINES UNION

Issued by Delegates' Council of Transport Workers Union of Greater New York
80 East 11th Street, Room 631 Telephone: ORhamercy 5-9315

No. 3

JULY, 1934

209

Nothing Less than the Return of the Flat 10% Cut

Our fate for the next 12 months is being decided upon behind closed doors. The old agreement is about to expire both on the I. R. T. as well as on the B. M. T. and the "representatives" and "delegates" are busy "negotiating" with the companies.

How are "negotiations" conducted?

Well, in one case we know that Mr. Eagan, official of the B. M. T., proposed a group of representatives that the present agreement shall continue (that is, continue the 10 per cent cut) and if so every "representative" will be rewarded, with the round sum of \$500. Seeing some slight opposition he proposed the return of 2 per cent out of the 10 per cent cut.

On the I. R. T. the expiring of the old agreement is deeply hidden in a conspiracy of silence.

For the transit companies and their lackeys, the company union officials, the less the men know the better. It would not be so easy to put over a new sell-out, if the tens of thousands of transport workers would KNOW THAT THEIR FATE IS BEING DECIDED UP ON. The I. R. T., for instance, schemes no doubt, to cheat the men out of the return of the 10 per cent wage cut by manipulations with the pension fund.

Our job, the job of every I. R. T. and B. M. T. worker is to smash this conspiracy of silence, bribery and scheming. DEMAND AND AGITATE FOR THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS of the Transport Workers Union:

- (a) Immediate, unconditional return of the 10 per cent cut.
- (b) Increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- (c) Introduction of the 40-48 hour week—without reduction in weekly amount of pay.
- (d) A guaranteed MINIMUM weekly pay of \$30.
- (e) All workers shall be eligible for pension at half pay after 25 years service. Pension fund to be fully covered by the company.
- (f) No speed up, no lay-offs, safe and sanitary working conditions and abolition of the spy system.
- (g) Two weeks vacation with full pay each year.
- (e) Recognition of shop and depot committees and the Transport Workers Union.

Agitate that these demands shall be placed before the companies. No settlement, no new agreement without consent and direct vote of all employees. Only this way can we stop a new sell out. Only by building up of a powerful TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION can we gain higher wages, shorter hours and security for our families.

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION (Independent)

O'Shea
C.B. 4/24/34

EXHIBIT No. 60

One third of the nation lives in houses that are not fit to live in. This is especially true in New York. Your vote can help to tear down the slums and to build decent low cost housing for the thousands of New York families forced to live in unsanitary fire-traps.

V. PROTECTION FOR CHILDREN—We want free clinics established to help guard the health of children in low-income groups. Baby clinics to help our mothers bring up healthy boys and girls. We want nurseries where working mothers can have their children cared for, and more playgrounds for the kids. We want more schools, more teachers, and smaller classes.

VI. WOMEN WANT PEACE—Think of the women in Spain, China and Czechoslovakia. Do you want to hear the roar of planes and see your baby killed by fascist bombs? Of course not. Yet the international gangsters, the Hitlers, Mussolinis, and Mikados, can be stopped only by the collective action of all peace-loving, democratic states and peoples. By our refusing to ship them the materials for murder. By our boycotting of all fascist goods—Made in Germany, Made in Italy, Made in Japan—including the important support of Japanese armies—silk stockings.

We Communists know that it is capitalism that breeds poverty and war, unemployment, depressions. We believe that under capitalism we can never be sure of decent living conditions and security for all. This is possible **ONLY UNDER SOCIALISM**, where the people own the factories, mines, land, houses and natural resources.

But until the **MAJORITY** of the American people are convinced that socialism is the only permanent solution, we Communists together with the forward-looking, progressive men and women fight for better conditions **NOW!** We want a better life **NOW!**

Issued by: State Women's Commission,
New York State Committee
Communist Party,
35 E. 12th St., New York, N. Y.

**Read the Paper Which Champions Women's Rights
The DAILY and SUNDAY WORKER
JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

*Tune in Nightly on Communist Election
Broadcasts over W M C A*

EXHIBIT No. 61

military science declares are impossible, and the like of which therefore no bourgeois general staff would attempt. It is axiomatic to bourgeois military science that a large-scale military offensive is impossible during heavy winter weather, even in temperate climes; the Red Army made such an offensive successfully in the North, and even in the Arctic. It was an axiom since the World War that modern fortifications cannot be taken by frontal assault, except possibly by prolonged sacrifice of immensely superior numbers; the Red Army took the Man-

nerheim Line in three weeks with a minimum of losses. Such a revolution in military science renders obsolete all the textbooks on the subject. It demonstrates at the same time the achievements of the socialist economy which equipped and served the Red Army. The superiority of socialist over capitalist economy, the superiority of the men trained under socialism over the men demoralized by capitalism, was demonstrated by the fall of the Mannerheim Line and the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Soviet Peace Policy vs. Imperialists' War Policy

Finally, the terms of the peace treaty demonstrate the contrast between the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and that of imperialist states. American bourgeois commentators have expressed their astonishment that the Soviet Union, as the result of decisive military success, made peace at the earliest possible moment, and on terms which gained for the Soviet Union only those measures of security against attack required by the world situation. No burdens whatever have been placed upon the Finnish people by the Soviet Union; on the contrary, they have been relieved of the millstone placed around their necks by the Mannerheims and Tanners, of military servitude to British-French-American imperialism. When the Finnish people fully free themselves from that domination by foreign imperialism that is represented by the Mannerheims and Tanners, and develop friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union, they will more and more share in the results of the security and prosperity that have been realized by the Soviet Union—invincible as she is today.

British-French-American imperialists will not give up their efforts to extend

the war, and to turn it against the Soviet Union. Scandinavia is not entirely safe, as demonstrated by the current talk of a Finnish-Swedish-Norwegian military alliance against the Soviet Union, which originates in London. Herbert Hoover continues to speak for the decisive sections of Wall Street, and Roosevelt still vies with him for reactionary support. Under the blows that have shattered their war plans, and roused a great peace movement among the masses, the imperialist bourgeoisie may resort to even more desperate adventures. The workers and all the toiling people, who have nothing to gain from this war, who really hate war, who want peace above all else, must be more than ever alert, must take advantage of the more favorable conditions created by the achievements of the Soviet Union, in the neutral countries must halt and defeat all moves to drag them into the war, and in the belligerent countries begin a decisive movement for an immediate and general peace.

These are the main lessons from the outstanding events on the international scene during the month of March.

Reprinted from the "Sunday Worker" of March 31, 1940, and issued by the
NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

35 East 12th Street, New York

EXHIBIT No. 62

The PEOPLE

O'Shea ex 12-4/25/40

VS.

WALL STREET



HOW TO VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Questions

1 2 3 5 7

ENDANGER YOUR FUTURE

VOTE
NO

Questions

4 6 8 9

ARE PROGRESSIVE

VOTE
YES

EXHIBIT No. 62—Continued

QUESTION "SOCIAL WELFARE" — This Amendment
NUMBER 8 would make it possible for the State to take care
Vote YES of the needy, set up a State Insurance System for
 unemployment, sickness and old age with the use
 of State finances. It can open the way for a genuine system of
 State Health Insurance. **Vote YES.**

QUESTION "TRANSIT"—This Amendment will make possible
NUMBER 9 public ownership and operation of the
Vote YES transit lines in New York City. It lifts the
 restriction on the city's borrowing capacity and
 enables it to buy out the private interests by raising \$315,000,000.
 Public ownership and control of transit will mean improved,
 safer service and further extension of transit lines. We will
 still have to fight to safeguard the 5 cent fare, and also for a
 popular referendum on any proposed purchase plan. But the
 city is not required to buy—the amendment simply allows the
 city now to drive a bargain with the private interests. **Vote
 YES.**

Read the

COMMUNIST ELECTION PLATFORM for 1938.

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35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Israel Amter, Chairman

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EXHIBIT No. 63



Ervin N. Mill, Transport Workers Union delegate from Juneau, Alaska. T.W.U. Alaska local has closed shop contracts and has organized "everything on wheels" in Juneau

